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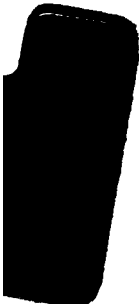
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**ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE :**

**IN**

**THREE PARTS**

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**VOL. III.**

**VOL. III.**

**A**



**ILLUSTRATIONS**  
**OF THE**  
**HOLY SCRIPTURES:**  
**IN THREE PARTS.**

<b>I. FROM THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST.</b>	<b>III. FROM THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF AN- CIENT AND MODERN NATIONS.</b>
<b>II. FROM THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE EAST.</b>	

**BY**  
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**SECOND EDITION,**  
**CORRECTED AND GREATLY ENLARGED.**



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**VOL. III.**

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1921

# **PART III.**

*(CONTINUED.)*

**OF THE**

**CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF ANCIENT  
AND MODERN NATIONS.**





# ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

## SCRIPTURE,

IN THREE PARTS, &c.

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### CHAP. IV.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE DRESS OF THE ORIENTALS.

*Dress of the orientals has undergone almost no change.—Materials of which it was manufactured—Fine linen—Sackcloth of hair—Silk and rich cloth.—Colours most in use.—Nobles and courtiers dressed in scarlet and crimson.—Vestments of different colours.—The form of their garments.—Restrictions in reference to dress.—Articles of dress.—The woollen shirt.—The coat.—The tunic.—Hyke or blanket.—Burnoose or cloak.—The girdle.—Wooden bodkin among the Arabs instead of the fibula used among the Romans.—Buskins.—Shoes.—Garment of hair-cloth.—Various habits of eastern females.—The veil—Of different kinds.—Ordinary Aleppo veil.—Females wear their hair very long.—Weight of Absalom's hair.—Medicaments for improving the hair.—Yellow locks.—Head-dress of the eastern ladies.—Tinging the hair and eye-brows with powder of lead ore.—Nose-jewel.—Ear-rings.—Ankles and wrists adorned with rings.—Bells fastened to these rings.—Ornaments of the Arabian females.—Assyrian ladies elegantly clothed.—Description of an Assyrian lady in full dress.—The silver horn.—How worn by the ladies.*

THE dress of oriental nations, to which the inspired writers often allude, has undergone almost no change from the earliest times. Their stuffs were fabricated of various

materials ; but wool was generally used in their finer fabrics ; and the hair of goats, camels, and even of horses, was manufactured for coarser purposes, especially for sackcloth, which they wore in time of mourning and distress. Sackcloth of black goat's hair, was manufactured for mournings ; the colour and the coarseness of which, being reckoned more suitable to the circumstances of the wearer, than the finer and more valuable texture which the hair of white goats supplied. This is the reason, that a clouded sky is represented in the bold figurative language of Scripture, as covered with sackcloth and blackness, the colour and dress of persons in affliction. In Egypt and Syria, they wore also fine linen, cotton, and byssus, probably fine muslin from India, in Hebrew (בִּיץ) bouts, the finest cloth known to the ancients. In Canaan, persons of distinction were dressed in fine linen of Egypt ; and, according to some authors, in silk, and rich cloth, shaded with the choicest colours, or as the Vulgate calls it, with feathered work, embroidered with gold. The beauty of their clothes consisted in the fineness and colour of the stuffs ; and it seems, the colour most in use among the Israelites, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, was white, not imparted and improved by the dyer's art, but the native colour of the wool, being most suited to the nature of their laws, which enjoined so many washings and purifications.<sup>a</sup> The general use of this colour, seems to be recognized by Solomon in his direction : " Let thy garments be always white."<sup>b</sup> But garments in the native colour of the wool,

<sup>a</sup> So early as the days of Hesiod, the Greeks considered white as the colour in which the celestials appeared : Men went to heaven in white clothing. *Opera et Dies*. l. 198.

<sup>b</sup> *Ecc.* ix, 8.

were not confined to the lower orders ; they were also in great esteem among persons of superior station, and are particularly valued in Scripture, as the emblem of knowledge and purity, gladness and victory, grace and glory. The priests of Baal were habited in black ; a colour which appears to have been peculiar to themselves, and which few others in those countries, except mourners, would choose to wear. Blue was a sky colour in great esteem among the Jews, and other oriental nations. The robe of the ephod, in the gorgeous dress of the high priest, was made all of blue ; it was a prominent colour in the sumptuous hangings of the tabernacle ; and the whole people of Israel were required to put a fringe of blue upon the border of their garments, and on the fringe a ribband of the same colour. The palace of Ahasuerus, the king of Persia, was furnished with curtains of this colour, on a pavement of red, and blue, and white marble ; a proof it was not less esteemed in Persia, than on the Jordan. And from Ezekiel we learn, that the Assyrian nobles were habited in robes of this colour : “ She doated on the Assyrians her neighbours, which were clothed with blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men.” It is one of the most remarkable vicissitudes in the customs of the east, that this beautiful colour, for many ages associated in their minds with every thing splendid, elegant, and rich, should have gradually sunk in public estimation, till it became connected with the ideas of meanness and vulgarity, and confined to the dress of the poor and the needy. In modern times, the whole dress of an Arabian female of low station, consists of drawers, and a very large shift, both of blue linen, ornamented with some needle-work of a different colour. And if credit may be

given to Thevenot, the Arabs between Egypt and mount Sinai, who lead a most wretched life, are clothed in a long blue shirt.<sup>c</sup> To solve this difficulty, Mr. Harmer supposes that "the art of dyeing blue, was discovered in countries more to the east or south than Tyre; and that the dye was by no means become common in the days of Ezekiel; though some that were employed in the construction of the tabernacle, and some of the Tyrians in the time of Solomon, seem to have possessed the art of dyeing with blue. These blue cloths were manufactured in remote countries; and to them that wore scarcely any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, these blue calicoes formed very magnificent vestments. It does not appear, however, that the Jews ever wore garments wholly of this colour; and perhaps they abstained from it as sacred and mysterious, than which none was more used about the tabernacle and the temple, in the curtains, veils and vestments belonging to these sacred edifices."<sup>d</sup>

The Jewish nobles and courtiers, upon great and solemn occasions, appeared in scarlet robes, dyed, not as at present with madder, with cochineal, or with any modern tincture, but with a shrub, whose red berries give an orient tinge to the cloth. Crimson or vermillion, a colour as the name imports, from the blood of the worm, was used in the temple of Solomon, and by many persons of the first quality; sometimes they wore purple, the most sublime of all earthly colours, says Mr. Harmer, having the gaudiness of red, of which it retains a shade, softened with the gravity of blue. This was chiefly dyed at Tyre, and was supposed to take the tincture from the liquor of

<sup>c</sup> Trav. part i, p. 173. See also Niebuhr's Description, &c. p. 57.

<sup>d</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 449, 450, 451.

a shell-fish, anciently found in the adjacent sea ; though Mr. Bruce in his Travels, inclines to the opinion, that the murex, or purple fish at Tyre, was only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, if the whole city of Tyre had applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year.\* The children of wealthy and noble families, were dressed in vestments of different colours. This mark of distinction may be traced to the patriarchal age ; for Joseph was arrayed by his indulgent and imprudent father, in a coat of many colours. A robe of divers colours, was anciently reserved for the king's daughters who were virgins ; and in one of these was Tamar, the virgin daughter of David, arrayed, when she was deflowered by her own brother.†

In these parts of the world, the fashion is in a state of almost daily fluctuation, and different fashions are not unfrequently seen contending for the superiority ; but in the east, where the people are by no means given to change, the form of their garments continues nearly the same from one age to another. The greater part of their clothes are long and flowing, loosely cast about the body, consisting only of a large piece of cloth, in the cutting and sewing of which very little art or industry is employed. They have more dignity and gracefulness than ours, and are better adapted to the burning climates of Asia. From the simplicity of their form, and their loose adaptation to the body, the same clothes might be worn with equal ease and convenience, by many different persons. The clothes of those Philistines whom Samson slew at Ashkelon, required no altering to fit his companions ; nor the robe of

\* Introduction to his Travels, p. 59, 4to edition.

† Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 411. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 398.

Jonathan to answer his friend. The arts of weaving and fulling, seemed to have been distinct occupations in Israel, from a very remote period, in consequence of the various and skilful operations which were necessary to bring their stuffs to a suitable degree of perfection ; but when the weaver and the fuller had finished their part, the labour was nearly at an end ; no distinct artizan was necessary to make them into clothes ; every family seems to have made their own. Sometimes, however, this part of the work was performed in the loom ; for they had the art of weaving robes with sleeves all of one piece ; of this kind was the coat which our Saviour wore during his abode with men. These loose dresses, when the arm is lifted up, expose its whole length : To this circumstance, the prophet Isaiah refers : “ To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed ”—uncovered—Who observes that he is about to exert the arm of his power ?\*

The chosen people were not allowed to wear clothes of any materials or form they chose ; they were forbidden by their law, to wear a garment of woollen and linen. This law did not prevent them from wearing many different substances together, but only these two ; nor did the prohibition extend to the wool of camels and goats (for the hair of these animals they called by the same name), but only to that of sheep. It was lawful for any man, who saw an Israelite dressed in such a garment, to fall upon him and put him to death. The design of Moses, according to some writers, was to preserve the chosen and holy people from the horrid confusion, by incestuous and unnatural mixtures, which prevailed among the heathen. But, in the opinion of Maimonides, it was principally in-

\* Taylor's *Calmet*, vol. iii. Shaw's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 409.

tended as a preservative from idolatry ; for the heathen priests of those times, wore such mixed garments of woollen and linen, in the superstitious hope, it was imagined, of having the beneficial influence of some lucky conjunction of the planets or stars, to bring down a blessing upon their sheep and their flax.

The second restraint referred to the sexes, of which one was not to wear the dress appropriated to the other. This practice is said to be an abomination to the Lord ; which plainly intimates, that the law refers to some idolatrous custom, of which Moses and the prophets always spoke in terms of the utmost abhorrence. Nothing, indeed, was more common among the heathen, in the worship of some of their false deities, than for the males to assist in women's clothes, and the females in the dress appropriated to men ; in the worship of Venus, in particular, the women appeared before her in armour, and the men in women's apparel ; and thus the words literally run in the original Scriptures, " Women shall not put on the armour of a man, nor a man the stole of a woman." Maimonides says, he found this precept in an old magical book, " That men ought to stand before the star of Venus in the flowered garments of women, and women to put on the armour of men before the star of Mars." But whatever may be in these observations, it is certain, if there were no distinction of sexes made by their habits, it would be in danger of involving mankind in all manner of licentiousness and impurity.

The ancient Jews very seldom wore any covering upon their head, except when they were in mourning, or worshipping in the temple, or in the synagogue. To pray with the head covered, was, in their estimation, a higher



mark of respect for the majesty of heaven, as it indicated the conscious unworthiness of the suppliant to lift up his eyes in the divine presence. To guard themselves from the wind or the storm, or from the still more fatal stroke of the sun-beam, to which the general custom of walking bare-headed particularly exposed them, they wrapped their heads in their mantles, or upper garments. But during their long captivity in Babylon, the Jews began to wear turbans, in compliance with the customs of their conquerors ; for Daniel informs us, that his three friends were cast into the fiery furnace with their hats, or, as the term should be rendered, their turbans. It is not, however, improbable, that the bulk of the nation continued to follow their ancient custom ; and that the compliance prevailed only among those Jews who were connected with the Babylonish court ; for many ages after that, we find Antiochus Epiphanes introducing the habits and fashions of the Grecians among the Jews ; and as the history of the Maccabees relates, he brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat. Their legs were generally bare, and they never wore any thing upon the feet, but soles fastened in different ways, according to the taste or fancy of the wearer.

The Talmudists enumerate eighteen several garments, which belonged to the full dress of an ancient Jew. A woollen shirt was worn next the skin, although some had shirts of linen in which they slept, because these were more cleanly and wholesome. But this part of their dress is to be distinguished from the caffetan, or shirt, which the bridegroom and the bride sent to each other ; which they wore over their clothes at their solemn festivals, and in which they were at last buried. Next to it was the coat,

which reached to their feet, and was accounted a modest and honourable article of dress. This greatly aggravated the indignity which the king of Ammon offered to the ambassadors of David, by cutting off their garments in the middle to their buttocks ; he insulted them by spoiling the most esteemed part of their dress ; he exposed them to shame, by uncovering their nakedness, as they seem to have worn no breeches under their upper garments. The tunic was the principal part of the Jewish dress ; it was made nearly in the form of our present shirt. A round hole was cut at top, merely to permit the head to pass through. Sometimes it had long sleeves, which reached down to the wrists ; at other times short sleeves, which reached to the elbow ; some had very short sleeves, which reached only to the middle of the upper arm, and some had no sleeves at all. The tunic was nearly the same with the Roman stola ; and was, in general, girded round the waist, or under the breast, with the zona or girdle. Descending to the ground, and floating round the feet, it was, in the days of our Lord, a distinguishing badge of the proud Pharisee : “ Beware of the scribes,” said he, “ who love to walk in long robes,” in tunics at full length, and reaching to the ground. These coats were collared at the neck, and fringed at the bottom. Over the tunic they wore a blanket, which the Arabs call a hyke, and is the very same with the plaid of the Scotch Highlanders. These hykes are of different sizes, and of different quality and fineness. They are commonly six yards long, and five or six feet broad ; serving the Kabyle and Arab for a complete dress in the day ; and “ as they sleep in raiment,” like the Israelites of old, it serves likewise for their bed and covering by night.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Deut. xxiv, 13.

It is a loose, but troublesome garment, frequently decomposed, and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew about his body. This shews the great use of a girdle whenever they are concerned in any active employment, and by consequence the force of the Scripture injunction, alluding to that part of the dress, to have our loins girded,<sup>1</sup> in order to set about it with any reasonable prospect of success. The method of wearing these garments, and the use they are put to at other times in serving as coverlets to their beds, should induce us to take the finer sorts of them, at least such as are worn by the ladies and persons of distinction, to be the *peplus* of primitive times.<sup>1</sup> Ruth's veil, which held six measures of barley, might be of a similar fashion, and have served, upon extraordinary occasions, for the same use; as were also the clothes, or upper garments, worn by the Israelites,<sup>2</sup> in which they folded up their kneading troughs, as the Arabs and others do to this day, things of similar burden and incumbrance, in their hykes. It is very probable, likewise, that the loose folding garment, the *taga* of the Romans, was of this kind; for if we may form our opinion from the drapery of their statues, this is no other than the dress of the Arabs, when they appear in their hykes.

Instead of the fibula that was used by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread,<sup>1</sup> or with a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed them first over one of their shoulders, they then fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold

<sup>1</sup> Luke xvii, 8.    <sup>2</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 403, 404, 405.    <sup>3</sup> Exod. xii, 13.

<sup>1</sup> In the days of Hesiod the Greeks sewed their garments with thread made of the sinews of oxen. Opera et Dies. l. 544.

serves them frequently instead of an apron, in which they carry herbs, loaves, corn, and other articles, and may illustrate several allusions made to it in Scripture: Thus, "One of the sons of the prophets went out into the field, to gather herbs, and found a wild vine, and gathered there of wild gourds, *his lap full*."<sup>m</sup> And the Psalmist offers up his prayer, that Jehovah would "render unto his neighbours seven-fold into their bosom, their reproach."<sup>n</sup> The same allusion occurs in our Lord's direction to his disciples: "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom."<sup>o</sup> It was also the fold of this robe which Nehemiah shook before his people, as a significant emblem of the manner in which God should deal with the man who ventured to violate his oath and promise, to restore the possessions of their impoverished brethren: "Also, I shook my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and emptied."<sup>p</sup>

Among the Arabs, a burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often for warmth, worn over these hykes. It is woven in one piece, strait about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates' sleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below like a cloak.<sup>q</sup> Some of them are fringed round the bottom; those without the cape seem to answer to the Roman pallium; and with it, to the bardocucullus. The cloak was also a common article of dress among the Jews, and is occasionally mentioned in the New Testament.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Kings iv, 39.    <sup>n</sup> Psa. lxxix, 12.    <sup>o</sup> Luke vi, 38.

<sup>p</sup> Neh. ix, 13. Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 406.

<sup>q</sup> Buckingham's Trav. vol. i, p. 77.

If we except the cape of the burnoose, which is only used in a shower of rain, or in very cold wether, several Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed all the year long, as Cicero states Masinissa did, equally regardless of the summer's heat, or winter's cold : *Nullo frigore adduci, ut capite aperto sit.*<sup>f</sup> To prevent their locks from being troublesome, they bound their temples with a narrow fillet ; which is of the same fashion, and serves the same purpose, as the ancient diadem. But the moors and Turks, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the crown of the head, a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, round the bottom of which, the turban, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, is folded.<sup>g</sup> The diadem was also a part of the Jewish head-dress, and is mentioned by the prophet : " In that day, shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people."<sup>h</sup> The (מצנפת) mitsnepheth, or turban, was used in the east as early as the days of Job ; for the afflicted man declares : " I put on righteousness, and it clothed me ; my judgment was as a robe, and a diadem," or turban.<sup>i</sup> In the prophecies of Ezekiel, it denotes the turban of the king : " Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take away the crown," or turban ; in Exodus, it signifies the turban of the high priest, in our translation, his mitre.<sup>j</sup>

These cloaks and plaids they usually throw off, when they engage in any labour or exercise, and remain only in their tunics.<sup>k</sup> Thus, when our Lord laid aside his upper garments, in order to wash the disciples' feet, he re-

<sup>f</sup> Cicero de Senectute.

<sup>g</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 407.

<sup>h</sup> Isa. xxviii, 5.

<sup>i</sup> Job xxix, 4.

<sup>j</sup> Exod. xxviii, 4.

<sup>k</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 408.

tained his coat or tunic, which he girded about his body with a towel, to prevent it from incommoding him during the operation. The apostle Peter also, when he went a-fishing, appears to have laid aside his upper garments, and prosecuted his labours in his shirt and tunic ; for when he heard from the beloved disciple, that it was Jesus who stood on the shore, he girt his fisher's coat unto him, for he was naked, that is, without his hyke and burnoose ; or what the same person, at the command of the angel, might have girded upon him, before he was enjoined to resume his garment. Now the hyke or burnoose, or both, being probably at that time the proper dress, clothing, or habit of the eastern nations, as they still continue to be of the Kabyles and Arabs, when they laid them aside, or appeared without one or the other, they might very probably be said to be undressed or naked, according to the eastern manner of expression. The king of Israel was said to be naked, although he was girded with a linen ephod ; and among the Romans, a person was represented as naked who had laid aside his upper garment : *Rejecta veste superiore*.\*

The girdle is an indispensable article in the dress of an oriental : it has various uses ; but the principal one is to tuck up their long flowing vestments, that they may not incommode them in their work, or on a journey. The Jews, according to some writers, wore a double girdle, one of greater breadth, with which they girded their tunic when they prepared for active exertions : the other they wore under their shirt, around their loins. This under girdle they reckon necessary to distinguish between the heart, and the less honourable parts of the human frame.

\* Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 403.

The upper girdle was sometimes made of leather, the material of which the girdle of John the Baptist was made ;<sup>7</sup> but it was more commonly fabricated of worsted, often very artfully woven into a variety of figures, and made to fold several times about the body ; one end of which being doubled back, and sewn along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeably to the acceptation of *ζωνή* in the Scriptures, which is translated purse in several places of the New Testament.\* The ancient Romans, in this, as in many other things, imitated the orientals ; for their soldiers, and probably all classes of the citizens, used to carry their money in their girdles. Whence, in Horace, *qui zonam perdidit*, means one who had lost his purse ; and in Aulus Gellius, C. Græchus is introduced, saying, Those girdles which I carried out full of money when I went from Rome, I have at my return from the province brought again empty.\* The Turks make a further use of these girdles, by fixing their knives and poniards in them ; while the writers and secretaries suspend in them their ink-horns ; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, who mentions “ a person clothed in white linen, with an ink-horn upon his loins.”<sup>b</sup> That part of the ink-holder which passes between the girdle and the tunic, and receives their pens, is long and flat ; but the vessel for the ink, which rests upon the girdle, is square, with a lid to clasp over it.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The girdle among the Mahrattas is generally made of strong leather, covered with velvet, and divided into small compartments containing their most valuable papers and precious jewels. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 61.

<sup>a</sup> Matth. x, 9 ; and Mark vi, 8.

<sup>a</sup> See Burder in loc.

<sup>b</sup> Ezek. ix, 2.

<sup>c</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 410. Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 572. Du Tott's Mem. vol. ii, p. 118.

To loose the girdle and give it to another, was among the orientals, a token of great confidence and affection. Thus to ratify the covenant which Jonathan made with David, and to express his cordial regard for his friend, among other things, he gave him his girdle. A girdle curiously and richly wrought was among the ancient Hebrews, a mark of honour, and sometimes bestowed as a reward of merit; for this was the recompense which Joab declared he meant to bestow on the man who put Absalom to death: "Why didst thou not smite him there to the ground, and I would have given thee ten shekels of silver, and a girdle."<sup>a</sup> The reward was certainly meant to correspond with the importance of the service which he expected him to perform, and the dignity of his own station as commander in chief: we may, therefore, suppose it was not a common one of leather, or plain worsted, but of costly materials and richly adorned; for people of rank and fashion in the east, wear very broad girdles, all of silk, and superbly ornamented with gold and silver, and precious stones, of which they are extremely proud, regarding them as the tokens of their superior station, and the proof of their riches.

Many of the Arabian inhabitants of Palestine and Barbary wear no shirts, but go almost entirely naked, or with only a cloth cast about their bodies, or a kind of mantle.<sup>e</sup> It is not improbable, that the poorer inhabitants of Judea were clothed in much the same manner as the Arabs of those countries in modern times, having no shirts, but only a sort of mantle to cover their naked bodies. If this be just, it greatly illustrates the promise of Samson to

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xviii, 11.

<sup>e</sup> Pecoche's Trav. vol. i, p. 190.

Egmont and Heyman's Trav. vol. i, p. 298.



give his companions thirty sheets, or as it is more properly rendered in the margin of our bibles, thirty shirts, if they could discover the meaning of his riddle. It cannot easily be imagined they were what we call sheets, for Samson might have slain thirty Philistines near Ashkelon, and not have found one sheet ; or if he slew them who were carrying their beds with them on their travels, as they often do in present times, the slaughter of fifteen had been sufficient, for in the east, as in other countries, every bed is provided with two sheets ; but he slew just thirty ; in order to obtain thirty *sedinim* or shirts. If this meaning of the term be admitted, the deed of Samson must have been very provoking to the Philistines ; for since only people of more easy circumstances wore shirts, they were not thirty of the common people that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence. The same word is used by the prophet Isaiah, in his description of the splendid and costly dress in which people of rank and fashion then delighted, rendered in our translation fine linen ; which seems to place it beyond a doubt that they were persons of rank that fell by the hand of Samson on that occasion.

But it is by no means improbable, that these sheets were the hykes or blankets already described, which are worn by persons of all ranks in Asia. Pococke, who gives a description of this vestment, and of the way in which it is wrapped about the body, which does not materially differ from the account of it in a preceding section, particularly observed that the young people, and the poorer sort about Faiume, had nothing on whatever, but this blanket : hence it is probable, that the young man was clothed in this manner who followed our Saviour when

he was taken, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. "When the young men," who came to apprehend Jesus, "laid hold of" him, "he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked:" but this language by no means requires us to suppose that he was absolutely naked, but only that he chose rather to quit his hyke or plaid, than run the risk of being made a prisoner, although by doing so he became unduly exposed. This view is confirmed by the observations formerly made on the hyke and tunic; and by the state of the weather, which was so cold, that the servants of the high priest were compelled to kindle a fire in the midst of the hall to warm themselves. It is very improbable, that he would go into the garden on such a night so thinly clothed; and we have no reason to think he was so poor, that this linen cloth was the only article of clothing in his possession. But Mr. Harmer, and other expositors, considering that the apostles were generally poor men, and that the poor in those countries had often no other covering than this blanket, rather suppose, that the terrified disciple fled away in a state of absolute nudity. But if it was the apostle John, where was he furnished with clothes to appear almost immediately after in the high priest's hall? This difficulty Mr. Harmer endeavours to remove by supposing, that from the garden he might go to his usual place of residence in the city, and clothe himself anew before he went to the palace.<sup>f</sup>

The orientals always cast their mantle or cloak over them when they go abroad; and it has been observed already, that they use it as a blanket or coverlet when they go to sleep. For this reason, although Jehovah permitted his people to receive the upper garments of their neigh-

<sup>f</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 344, &c.

bour in pawn, because he could do without them during the day ; yet he commanded them in express terms, to restore such a pledge at night, because, said the lawgiver, "It was his covering only, the raiment for his skin, wherein he slept."<sup>t</sup>

Their legs, it has been already observed, were generally bare ; but some of them wore a sort of buskins, which were laced about the ankle, and reached up to the calf of the leg. Upon their feet they wore sandals, which were merely soles fastened with straps, made at first of raw hides, but afterwards of leather. When the sandals were taken off, the strings were of course untied, which it was the proper business of servants to do. John the Baptist alluded to this menial office, when he announced to the multitudes the coming of Christ : " One mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose ;" that is, I am not worthy to do the meanest office about the Messiah. When the sandals were untied, the feet were washed, to remove the impurities which this very imperfect contrivance could not prevent, and anointed with oil to counteract the hurtful effects of heat.

Shoes were also in use among the natives of Asia ; but their precise form cannot easily be ascertained. The difference between the sandal and the shoe is thus stated by the Talmudists : Shoes were of more delicate use, sandals were more ordinary and fitter for service ; a shoe was of softer leather, a sandal of harder : There were sandals also whose sole or lower part was of wood, the upper of leather ; and these were fastened together with nails. Some sandals also were made of rushes, or of the bark of palm trees, and they were all open both ways, so that one might

<sup>t</sup> Exod. xxii, 26.

part in his foot either before or behind. Those of a violet or purple colour were most valued, and worn by persons of the first quality and distinction.<sup>h</sup>

The use of shoes may be traced to the patriarchal age; Abraham protested to the king of Sodom, after his victory over Amraphel and his associates, "I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread, even to a shoe latchet."<sup>i</sup> And when the Lord appeared to Moses in the bush, he commanded him to put off his shoes from his feet, for the place on which he stood was holy ground.<sup>j</sup> In imitation of this memorable example, the priests officiated in the temple barefoot; and all the orientals, under the guidance of tradition, put off their shoes when they enter their holy places. The learned Bochart is of opinion, that the Israelites used no shoes in Egypt; but being to take a long journey, through a rough and barren wilderness, God commanded them to eat the passover with shoes on their feet; and those very shoes which they put on at that festival, when they were ready to march, he suffered not to decay during the whole forty years they traversed the desert; and to increase the miracle, Grotius adopts the idle conceit of some Jewish writers, that their clothes enlarged as they grew up to maturity, and their shoes also underwent a similar enlargement. This was not impossible with Jehovah, but it seems to have been quite unnecessary, for the clothes and shoes of those that died, might serve their children when they grew up; and it was sufficiently wonderful, without such an addition, that their clothes should not

<sup>h</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 302, 303.

<sup>i</sup> Gen. xiv, 23.

<sup>j</sup> Exod. iii, 5.

decay, nor their shoes wear, nor their feet swell, by travelling over hot and sandy deserts for the long period of forty years.

It only remains to be observed, on this part of the subject, that no covering for the foot can exclude the dust in those parched regions ; and by consequence, the custom of washing and anointing the feet, which is, perhaps, coeval with the existence of the human race, is not to be ascribed to the use of sandals. Whatever covering for the foot may be used, Chardin declares, it is still necessary to wash and anoint the feet after a journey. It is also the custom every where among the Asiatics, to carry a staff in their hand, and a handkerchief to wipe the sweat from their face. The handkerchiefs are wrought with a needle; and to embroider and adorn them, is one of the elegant amusements of the other sex.<sup>b</sup>

Persons devoted to a life of austerity, commonly wore a dress of coarser materials. John the Baptist, we are told in the sacred volume, was clothed in a garment of camel's hair, with a broad leathern girdle about his loins. It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that the finest and most elegant shawls, which constitute so essential a part of the Turkish dress, and are worn by persons in the highest ranks of life, are fabricated of camel's hair. These unquestionably belong to the "soft raiment" worn by the residents in the palaces of eastern kings. But it is evident that the inspired writer intends, by the remark on the dress of John, to direct our attention to the meanness of his attire. "What went ye out for to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are in king's houses wear soft clothing;" but the garments of John were of a

<sup>b</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 396.

very different kind. It is, indeed, sufficiently apparent, that the inhabitants of the wilderness, where John spent his days before he entered upon his ministry, and other thinly settled districts, manufactured a stuff, in colour and texture somewhat resembling our coarse hair-cloths, of the hair which fell from their camels, for their own immediate use, of which the raiment of that venerable prophet consisted. In the same manner, the Tartars of modern times, work up their camel's hair into a kind of felt, which serves as a covering to their tents, although their way of life is the very reverse of easy and pompous.<sup>1</sup> Like the austere herald of the Saviour, the modern dervishes wear garments of the same texture, which they too, gird about their loins with great leathern girdles.<sup>m</sup> Elijah, the Tishbite, seems to have worn a habit of camel's hair, equally mean and coarse; for he is represented in our translation as a "hairy man," which perhaps ought to be referred to his dress, and not to his person. A garment of hair-cloth was, in those times, the costume of a prophet; and was assumed occasionally by impostors, to enable them with greater ease and success to deceive their credulous neighbours. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear a rough," or hairy, "garment to deceive."<sup>n</sup> The prophet Isaiah was clothed in the same stuff," for God required him to "loose the sackcloth from off" his "loins."<sup>o</sup> Sackcloth of hair was deemed a badge of humiliation and self-denial; and was probably, for this reason, selected as the most proper material for the official habiliments of an ancient pro-

<sup>1</sup> Baron du Tott's Mem. part ii, p. 50.

<sup>n</sup> Zech. xiii, 4.

<sup>m</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 416.

<sup>o</sup> Isa. xx, 3.

phet. Joel accordingly commands the priests and Levites; "Come, lie all night," or constantly, "in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God."<sup>2</sup> In allusion to the same mode of thinking, it is said, "the sun became black as sackcloth of hair."<sup>3</sup> And Isaiah declares in the name of the Lord, "I clothe the heavens with blackness, I make sackcloth their covering."<sup>4</sup> These statements throw light on that expression: "My two witnesses shall prophecy, clothed in sackcloth:"<sup>5</sup>—arrayed in the official dress of ancient prophets, and like them humble and self-denied, but very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, and fearless in the discharge of their duty.

The habit of eastern females was also suited to their station; and women of all ages and conditions, appeared in dresses of the same fashion; only a married woman wore a veil upon her head, in token of subjection; and a widow had a garment which indicated her widowed state. The daughters of a king, and ladies of high rank, who were virgins, wore a garment of many colours, reaching, as is supposed, to the heels or ankles, with long sleeves down to the wrists, which had a border at the bottom, and a facing at the hands, of a colour different from the garment: it was likewise embroidered with flowers, which in ancient times, was reckoned both splendid and beautiful. Before the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, their wives and daughters had arrived at the greatest degree of extravagance in dress. The prophet Isaiah gives a long list of the vestments, trinkets, and ornaments in use among the ladies of Israel, in that remote age; the greater part of which, it is extremely difficult to describe. A common prostitute among the Jews was known, as well by the

<sup>2</sup> Joel i, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. vi, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. i, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. xii, 3.

peculiar vesture she wore, as by having no covering upon her head, and her eye-brows painted with stibium, which dilated the hair, and made the eyes look black and beautiful. In the days of Jacob, the harlot seemed to have been distinguished by her veil, and by wrapping herself in some peculiar manner; for these are the circumstances that induced Judah to consider Tamar his daughter-in-law, as a woman of this character: "She put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath." When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot, because she had covered her face. It may be justly inferred from this passage, that modest women did not constantly wear a veil in those days. Rebecca, indeed, put a veil upon her face when she met Isaac in the field: but it was a part of the marriage ceremony to deliver the bride covered with a veil, from head to foot; and Rebecca, in this instance only followed the established custom of her country. Had it been the practice of modest women in that age to cover their faces, in the presence of the other sex, she would not have needed to veil herself when her future husband met her in the field. She seems to have had no veil when Abraham's servant accosted her at the well; nor, for any thing that can be discovered, was Rachel veiled at her first interview with Jacob; or if they did appear in veils, these prevented not a part of the face from being seen. The practice of wearing veils, except at the marriage ceremony, must, therefore, be referred to a later period, and was perhaps not introduced till after the lapse of several ages. These

\* Gen. xxxviii, 14. \* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. ii, p. 80.

Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 253, 254.



observations may serve to illustrate the address of Abimelech to Sarah : " Behold, he is to thee a *covering of the eyes*, unto all that are with thee ; and with all other."\* Sarah, you have not been used to wear the veil constantly when at home, as a person of your beauty and accomplishments should do, and by that circumstance we were tempted ; but now I insist that you wear a covering, which, by concealing your beautiful countenance, may prevent such desires ; and henceforth be *correct*, (as the word may be rendered, that is, *circumspect*,) and do not shew yourself ; or, as in our translation, thus she was *corrected, reprov'd*, by a very handsome compliment paid to her beauty, and a very handsome present paid to her brother, as Abraham is sarcastically termed by Abimelech.†

In modern times, the women of Syria never appear in the streets without their veils. These are of two kinds, the *furragi* and the common Aleppo veil ; the former being worn by some of the Turkish women only, the latter indiscriminately by all. The first is in the form of a large cloak, with long strait sleeves, and a square hood hanging flat on the back ; it is sometimes made of linen, sometimes of shawl or cloth. This veil reaching to the heels, conceals the whole of the dress, from the neck downwards ; while the head and face are covered by a large white handkerchief over the head-dress and forehead, and a smaller one tied transversely over the lower part of the face, hanging down on the neck. Many of the Turkish women, instead of the smaller handkerchief, use a long piece of black crape stiffened, which, sloping a little from the forehead, leaves room to breathe more freely. In this last way, the ladies are completely disguised ; in the former,

\* Gen. xx, 16. Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

† Ibid.

the eyes and nose remaining visible, they are easily known by their acquaintances.

The *radid* is a species of veil, which Calmet supposes is worn by married women, as a token of their submission and dependance, and descends low down on the person. To lift up the veil of a virgin, is reckoned a gross insult ; but to take away the veil of a married woman, is one of the greatest indignities that she can receive, because it deprives her of the badge which distinguishes and dignifies her in that character, and betokens her alliance to her husband, and her interest in his affections. This is the reason why the spouse so feelingly complains : “ They took away my veil (רדד) from me.”<sup>7</sup> When it is forcibly taken away by the husband, it is equivalent to divorce, and justly reckoned a most severe calamity ; therefore, God threatened to take away the ornamental dresses “ of the daughters of Zion,” including the *radidim*, the low descending veils : “ In that day, the Lord will take away - - - the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils.”<sup>8</sup>

The ordinary Aleppo veil is a linen sheet, large enough to cover the whole habit from head to foot, and is brought over the face in a manner to conceal all but one eye.<sup>a</sup> This custom is alluded to by the bridegroom, in these words : “ Thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes.”<sup>b</sup> Thy slightly opened veil, my consort, suffers only a part of thy fair countenance to be seen ; yet that small part, though it be but a cheek or an eye, ravishes my heart : yea, when the still slenderer opening of thy veil suffers but a single link of thy necklace to appear,

<sup>7</sup> Song v, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. iii, 18, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Song iv, 9.

<sup>a</sup> Russel's Hist. vol. ii, p. 78 ; and Buckingham's Trav. vol. i, p. 78.

that single link attracts my kindest regard, on account of the beauteous neck which it adorns."<sup>c</sup>

In Barbary, when the ladies appear in public, they always fold themselves up so closely in their hykes, that even without their veils, one can discover very little of their faces. But, in the summer months, when they retire to their country seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though even then, on the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebecca did on the approach of Isaac.<sup>d</sup> But, although they are so closely wrapped up, that those who look at them cannot even see their hands, still less their face, yet it is reckoned indecent in a man to fix his eyes upon them; he must let them pass without seeming at all to observe them. In allusion to this rigorous custom, Job says, "I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?" When a lady of distinction, says Hanway,<sup>e</sup> travels on horseback, she is not only veiled, but has generally a servant, who runs or rides before her, to clear the way; and on such occasions, the men, even in the market-places, always turn their backs till the women are past, it being thought the highest ill manners to look at them. A lady in the east considers herself degraded when she is exposed to the gaze of the other sex, which accounts for the conduct of Vashti in refusing to obey the command of the king.<sup>f</sup> Their ideas of decency, on the other hand, forbid a virtuous woman to lay aside, or even to lift up her veil, in the presence of the other sex. She who ventures to disregard this prohibition, inevitably ruins her character. From that mo-

<sup>c</sup> Taylor's *Calmet*, vol. iii.

<sup>d</sup> Shaw's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 412.

<sup>e</sup> *Trav.* part iii, chap. 40, vol. i, p. 185.

<sup>f</sup> *Forbes's Orient. Mem.* vol. iii, p. 194, 218, 219.

ment she is noted as a woman of easy virtue, and her act is regarded as a signal for intrigue. Pitts informs us, that in Barbary the courtesan appears in public without her veil; and in the book of Proverbs, the harlot exposed herself in the same indecent manner: "So she caught him, and kissed him, and with *an impudent face*," a face uncovered and shameless, "said unto him, I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows."<sup>8</sup>

The eastern females wear their hair, which the prophet emphatically calls the "instrument of their pride," very long, and divided into a great number of tresses. In Barbary, the ladies all affect to have their hair hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait with ribbons; a piece of finery which the apostle marks with disapprobation: "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel."<sup>9</sup> Not that he condemns in absolute terms, all regard to neatness and elegance in dress and appearance, but only an undue attention to these things; his meaning plainly is: "Whose adorning, let it not chiefly consist in that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, but rather let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God, of great price."<sup>10</sup> The way in which the apostle uses the negative particle in this text, is a decisive proof that this is his true meaning; it extends to every member of the sentence; and by consequence;

<sup>8</sup> Prov. vii, 13, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 412.—The same custom prevails in Turkey; young girls have their hair, finely plaited, almost hanging to their feet: Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Pet. iii, 3.

if it prohibit the plaiting of hair, it equally prohibits the putting on of apparel. But it never could be his design to forbid women to wear clothes, or to be decently and neatly dressed ; therefore, the negative must have only a comparative sense, instructing us in the propriety and necessity of attending more to the dispositions of the mind, than to the adorning of the body. And as one inspired writer cannot, in reality, contradict another, the command of Paul must be explained in the same way, not as an absolute, but comparative prohibition : “ In like manner, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shame-facedness and sobriety, not with,” or according to this view, rather than with “ brodered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.”<sup>j</sup> Where nature has been less liberal in its ornaments, the defect is supplied by art, and foreign is procured to be interwoven with the natural hair. The males, on the contrary, shave all the hair of their heads, excepting one lock ; and those who wear their hair are stigmatized as effeminate. The apostle’s remark on this subject, corresponds entirely with the custom of the east, as well as with the original design of the Creator : “ Does not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him ? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her ; for her hair is given her for a covering.”<sup>k</sup> The men in the east, Charadin observes, are shaved ; the women nourish their hair with great fondness, which they lengthen by tresses, and tufts of silk down to the heels. But this distinction, which the inspired apostle pronounces a dictate of nature, Mr. Harmer thinks was not uniformly observed, nor perhaps always regarded as of so much importance ; for long hair

<sup>j</sup> 1 Tim. ii, 9.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. xi, 14.

was esteemed a beauty in Absalom ; the words of the record are :<sup>1</sup> “ And when he polled his head, (for it was at every year’s end that he polled it ; because the hair was heavy upon him, therefore he polled it), he weighed the hair of his head at two hundred shekels after the king’s weight.”<sup>m</sup> That the distinction was not uniformly observed, cannot be denied ; for the effeminate in all ages refused to submit to it. But it will not follow, that it rose into greater importance under the pen of the apostle ; rather, it was in the eye of nature’s God of sufficient importance from the beginning, to merit the attention of his rational creatures ; but it had been long forgotten, particularly among the heathen, who indulged, before their conversion to the Christian faith, in every sinful pleasure, and in every effeminate and unmanly practice. The apostle, therefore, by the direction of the Spirit, interposed his authority to restore it to the rank it was intended to hold, among the decencies and proprieties of life ; and to its practical utility in distinguishing between the sexes. Mr. Harmer is incorrect in supposing, that the inspired historian mentions the length and weight of Absalom’s hair with commendation ; he describes it, on the contrary, as the instrument of his pride and vanity ; as an object of general admiration among the courtiers and people of fashion ; and perhaps as one of the means by which he stole the hearts of the thoughtless and the gay, who, less favoured by nature, might be proud to purchase it for the purpose of interweaving it with their own. So proud was that worthless person of his golden locks, that he wore them as long as he could endure their weight ; and when he did poll them, at certain times, his vanity prompted him to have them weighed, that it might be seen how much they

<sup>1</sup> Harmer’s Observ. vol. iv, p. 326.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Sam. xiv, 26.

excelled those of other men ; and the more to expose his puerile extravagance, the weight is noted in the Scriptures of truth, as amounting to "two hundred shekels," which, estimating the shekel at 92½ grains, Paris weight, is equal to a little more than two Paris pounds. These facts, the historian states in proof of Absalom's effeminacy, and to prepare his reader for adoring the retributive justice of God, in making these locks in which he gloried so much, and for which he was so greatly admired by the giddy multitude, the instrument of his destruction.

The assistance of art was often called in, to improve and enlarge the bounty of nature ; and various medicaments were employed to render the hair thicker and stronger, to prevent it from falling off, and to improve its colour. For this purpose it was washed with nitre, and anointed with an unguent, consisting of a decoction of parsley-seed in wine, to which a large quantity of oil was added. This practice seems to have been quite common in Greece and Italy ; and indeed, no custom was more ancient, nor more generally received. It is distinctly mentioned by Homer, in his hymn to Vesta :

Ἄμ' αὖν πλεκαμένη ἀνελυβίσται ὕγρον ἔλαιον.

"The humid oil is constantly flowing from thy tresses." Among the Latin poets, Virgil sings of hair dropping with myrrh :

———"crines

Vibratos calido ferro, myrrhaque madentes." *Æn.* lib. xii, l. 100.

And Horace adverts to the same custom in more than one passage :

"Pressa tuis balneus capillis

Jamdudum apud me est."

Book iii, Ode 29.

"O Mæcenas, there has been a long while for you in my house, some rose-flowers, and expressed essence for your

hair." In another Ode, congratulating his friend on his being restored to him and his country, he reminds him that he had often broken the day with him in drinking, having his hair shining with the Syrian unguents crowned with flowers :

----- "*coronatus niteas*

*Málobathro Syrio capillos.*"

Book ii, Ode 7.

These lines also furnish a proof of no inconsiderable force, that the ancient Romans received the custom of anointing their locks with unguents from the Syrians; and it is more than probable that the Jews learned it from the same people, if they did not receive it from their common ancestors, for the Jews are a branch of the great Syrian family. It is certain the chosen people were, at a very remote period, initiated in the art of cherishing and beautifying the hair with fragrant ointments. The head of Aaron was anointed with a precious oil, compounded after the art of the apothecary; and in proof that they had already adopted the practice, the congregation were prohibited, under pain of being cut off, to make any other like it, after the composition of it.<sup>a</sup> The royal Psalmist alludes to the same custom in the twenty-third Psalm: "Thou anointest my head with oil;" and in his prophetic description of the Messiah, "Thou lovest righteousness and hatest iniquity; therefore God thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows;"<sup>b</sup> in consequence of which, "his locks are bushy and black as a raven."<sup>c</sup> We may infer from the direction of Solomon, that the custom had at least become general in his time: "Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment."<sup>d</sup>

Yellow locks were held in high estimation among the eastern nations. The sentiments of the Greeks are thus

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxx, 32, 33.

<sup>b</sup> Psal. xlv, 7.

<sup>c</sup> Song v, 11.

<sup>d</sup> Eccl. ix, 8.



attested by Homer: "Pallas stood behind, and seized the son of Peleus by the yellow hair."

Ἐν δ' οὐδὲν ξανθὸς δι' ἡμης εἰς Πηλεΐωνα. *Il. lib. i, l. 197.*

But this colour seems to have been connected with the idea of youthful beauty; for when he describes a person in the full maturity of age, without any symptoms of decay, or one invested with awful majesty, he adorns him with raven locks: When Jupiter gives his assent, he nods with his black eye-brows, at which the heavens and the earth tremble:

Ἢ καὶ κυανέην ἐπ' ὀφρὺς νύξαι Κρονίων.\*

This idea was probably borrowed from the orientals; for, in the Song of Solomon, the immortal vigour and glorious majesty of the true God, the redeemer of the church, are represented under the same figure: "His locks are bushy and black as a raven."<sup>†</sup> His immaculate purity and eternal duration are described by a different figure, which the

\* See also *Odyssey*, lib. xxiii, l. 158.

† *Ibid.* lib. xvi, l. 175. Ἀψ δὲ μελαγχροῖς γίνετο.

And thus Ovid: ——— "barba comæque

Canitie posita nigrum rapuere colorem." *Met.* lib. vii, v. 288.

† Song v, 11.—In one instance where the black colour could not be introduced into the symbol, green, which is often a convertible term for young and fresh, is employed; "And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald." Rev. iv, 3. But why was this bow which enclosed the throne of the Redeemer of an emerald green; or why did this colour predominate? but to shew that it shall, unlike the thrones of earthly kings, endure for ever with undiminished splendour, immovable stability, and ever new delights; that, in the fullest sense of the terms, "of his kingdom and government there shall be no end." This idea receives no little countenance from the fact that the ancient Hindoos portrayed the chariot of the sun drawn by seven green horses, to represent, it may be presumed, the permanence, and, according to their views, the immutability of his rule. *Maurice's Indian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 197.—The words of the spouse may refer to the same ideas of permanence and happiness; "Also our bed is green." Song i, 16. Green was probably the imperial colour at the court of Solomon, as it is in some courts of the east in present times.

classic bards of Greece and Rome, so far as the writer has observed, never imagined, for of these attributes they had very low ideas indeed, and by consequence were at no pains to express them by appropriate metaphors. But the sacred writers, guided by the Spirit of God, and entertaining high and awful conceptions of the divine holiness and unchangeable duration, invested Jehovah with hair "like the pure wool."<sup>u</sup> The whole description of the appearance, and providential government of God, is in a strain of sublimity, which leaves at an infinite distance below, the loftiest flights of Homer's muse: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him; and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set, and the books were opened." In the same style of awful sublimity, the apostle John describes the mediatory perfections of his Lord and Saviour: "His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow."<sup>v</sup> From the place which the hair of the head occupies in these descriptions of human and celestial beauty, we have a right to infer the very high value put upon it by the people of the east. It is indeed one of the most common ornaments which Homer bestows upon his countrymen under the walls of Troy; the well-haired Greeks is a phrase continually in his mouth.

After the hair is plaited and perfumed, the eastern ladies proceed to dress their heads, by tying above the lock

<sup>u</sup> Dan. vii, 9.

<sup>v</sup> Rev. i, 14.

into which they collect it, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. This, among persons of better fashion, is covered with a *sarmah*, as they call it, which is made in the same triangular shape, of thin flexible plates of gold or silver, carefully cut through, and engraven in imitation of lace, and might therefore answer to (חֶשְׁתְּרִימִן) *hasheharnim*, the moon-like ornament mentioned by the prophet in his description of the toilette of a Jewish lady.<sup>2</sup> A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linen, bound close over the *sarmah*, and falling afterwards carelessly upon the favourite lock of hair, completes the head-dress of the Moorish ladies.<sup>3</sup> The kerchief is adjusted in the morning, and worn through the whole of the day: in this respect it differs from the veil, which is assumed as often as they go abroad, and laid aside when they return home. So elegant is this part of dress in the esteem of the orientals, that it is worn by females of every age, to heighten their personal charms. In Persia, the prophet Ezekiel informs us, the kerchief was used by women of loose character, for the purpose of seduction; for so we understand that passage in his writings, "Woe to the women that sew pillows to all arm holes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls."<sup>4</sup> The oriental ladies delighted in ornamenting their dress with devices of embroidery and needle-work; but it was chiefly about the neck they displayed their taste and ingenuity. To such decorations the sacred writers often allude, which clearly shews how greatly they were valued, and how much they

<sup>2</sup> Isa. iii, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 412. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xiii, 18. Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

were used. Nor were they confined to the female sex; they seem to have been equally coveted by the males; and a garment of needle-work was frequently reserved, as the most acceptable part of the spoil, for the stern and ruthless warrior: The mother of Sisera, in the fondness of her heart, allotted to her son the robe curiously wrought with vivid colours on the neck: "To Sisera, a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work, of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."<sup>a</sup>

When these operations are finished, they proceed to tinge the hair and edges of their eye-lids with Al ka-hol, that is, the powder of lead ore. This singular and hazardous operation is performed, by dipping first into the powder a small wooden bodkin of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eye-lids over the ball of the eye. From this statement, we have a lively image of what the prophet may be supposed to mean, "by renting the eyes" (not as we render it with *painting*, but) with (פוך,) lead ore. The sooty colour, which is thus communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions. The practice may be traced to a very remote period; for, besides the instance mentioned by Jeremiah, we find in the passage where Jezebel is said to have painted her face, the original words חשמה כפוך עיניה, that is, she adjusted (or set off) her eyes with the powder of pouk, or lead ore.<sup>b</sup> The prophet Ezekiel alludes to the same practice in these words, (כחלה עיניך,) cahalt anaich, "Thou hast dressed thine eyes with Al ka-hol;" which the Septuagint render *ἡσθίβησας*, *ἡσθίβησας*, "thou hast dressed thine eyes with stibium."

<sup>a</sup> Judg. v, 30.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings ix, 30.

They interpret the word pouk in the same manner ; which in our version, is to paint the face ; whence it is probable that Pouk and Cahal, or, in the Arabic form, Alkahol, meant the same thing ; and were names of the same mineral which the modern orientals use for dressing their eye-lids. Dr. Shaw says it is a rich lead ore pounded into an impalpable powder, that imparted a jetty blackness to the eye-lid, and set off the whiteness of the eye to great advantage. But, in attempting to ascertain the date of this custom, we must ascend to an age long anterior to those we have mentioned ; for Keren-happuc, the name which Job gave to his youngest daughter, which signifies the horn of pouk, or lead ore, seems to relate to this practice, which was, perhaps, the invention of a still remoter period.<sup>c</sup>

This method of tinging the eye-lids a jetty black, was imported into Egypt, and generally adopted by the inhabitants ; for, among other curiosities that were taken out of the catacombs at Sahara relating to the Egyptian women, Dr. Shaw had the opportunity of seeing a joint of the common reed, or *donax*, which contained one of these bodkins, and an ounce or more of this powder, agreeably to the fashions and practice of modern times. The custom was also received by the Greeks and the Romans ; for, according to Xenophon, the eye-lids of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, and the principal persons of his court, were dressed with lead ore ;<sup>d</sup> and both Dioscorides and Pliny speak of the power of stibium in dilating the eyes of women.<sup>e</sup> The modern Persians continue the prac-

<sup>c</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 413. Clarke's Trav. in Palestine, vol. ii, chap. xii, p. 388.

<sup>d</sup> Xen. Curop. lib. i, p. 19 ; and lib. vi, p. 463.

<sup>e</sup> Dioscor. lib. iii, cap. 99 ; and Pliny, lib. xxxiii, cap. 6.

vice, strongly tinging their eye lashes and eye lids with antimony.<sup>f</sup>

The nose-jewel is another ornament peculiar to the east, which the Jewish females were accustomed to wear, and of which the Asiatic ladies are extremely fond.<sup>g</sup> It is mentioned in several parts of Scripture ; thus the prophet Ezekiel : “ And I put a jewel on thy forehead,” or, as it should have been rendered, on thy nose. This ornament was one of the presents which the servant of Abraham gave to Rebecca, in the name of his master : “ I put,” said he, “ the ear-ring upon her face ;” more literally, I put the ring on her nose. They wore ear-rings besides ; for the household of Jacob, at his request, when they were preparing to go up to Bethel, gave him all the ear-rings which were in their ears, and he hid them under the oak which was by Shechem.<sup>h</sup> The difference between these ornaments is clearly stated by the prophet : “ I put a jewel on thy nose, and ear-rings in thine ears.” The nose-jewel, therefore, was different from the ear-ring, and actually worn by the females as an ornament in the east. This is confirmed by the testimony of Sir John Chardin, who says, “ It is the custom in almost all the east, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between them, placed in the ring ; I never saw a girl, or young woman in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril.<sup>i</sup> Some writers contend, that by the nose-jewel, we are to understand rings,

<sup>f</sup> Forbes's *Orient. Mem.* vol. i, p. 263 ; and Morier's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 61.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* p. 258.

<sup>h</sup> Gen. xxxv, 4.

<sup>i</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iv, p. 316–320.

which women attached to their forehead, and let them fall down upon their nose ; but Chardin, who certainly was a diligent observer of eastern customs, no where saw this frontal ring in the east, but every where the ring in the nose. His testimony is supported by Dr. Russel, who describes the women in some of the villages about Aleppo, and all the Arabs and Chinganas (a sort of gypsies), as wearing a large ring of silver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right nostril. It is worn, by the testimony of Egmont, in the same manner by the women of Egypt. The difference in the statements of these travellers is of little importance, and may be reconciled by supposing, what is not improbable, that in some eastern countries they wear the ring in the left, and in others in the right nostril ; all agree that it is worn in the nose, and not upon the forehead. Some remains of this custom have been discovered among the Indians in North America, where Clark and Lewis, in their travels to the sources of the Missouri, fell in with some tribes that wore a long tapering piece of shell, or bead, put through the cartilage of the nose.<sup>j</sup>

Two words are used in the Scriptures to denote these ornamental rings, *עניל* and *נזם* ; Mr. Harmer seems to think they properly signified ear-rings ; but this is a mistake ; the sacred writers use them promiscuously for the rings both of the nose and of the ears. That writer, however, is probably right in supposing that *nezem* is the name of a much smaller ring than *agil*. Chardin observed two sorts of rings in the east ; one so small and close to the ear, that

<sup>j</sup> Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 106. Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii, p. 85. See also Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii, cap. 6. Xenophon Cyropæd. lib. i. Du Tott's Mem. vol. i, p. 192 ; and Thevenot's Trav. part ii, p. 94.

there is no vacuity between them ; the other so large, as to admit the fore-finger between it and the ear ; these last are adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each side, strung on the ring. The circle of some of these large ear-rings is sometimes four inches in diameter, and almost two fingers thick, made of several kinds of metals, wood and horn, according to the rank of the wearer. The remark of Chardin is certainly just, that nothing can be more disagreeable to the eyes of those that are unaccustomed to the sight ; for these pendants, by their weight, widen so extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and stretch it more than one that never saw it would imagine. That intelligent traveller saw some of these ear-rings with figures upon them, and strange characters, which he believed were talismans or charms ; but which were probably the names and symbols of their false gods. We know from the testimony of Pliny that rings with the images of their gods were worn by the Romans. The Indians say they are preservatives against enchantment ; upon which Chardin hazards a very probable conjecture, that the ear-rings of Jacob's family were perhaps of this kind, which might be the reason of his demanding them, that he might bury them under the oak before they went up to Bethel.<sup>k</sup>

Besides those ornamental rings in the nose and the ears, they wore others round the legs, which made a tinkling as they went. This custom has also descended to the present times ; for Rauwolf met with a number of Arabian women on the Euphrates, whose ankles and wrists were adorned with rings, sometimes a good many together,

<sup>j</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii, cap. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 321, 322.



which moving up and down as they walked, made a great noise.<sup>1</sup> Chardin attests the existence of the same custom in Persia, in Arabia, and in very hot countries, where they commonly go without stockings, but ascribes the tinkling sound to little bells fastened to those rings. In the East Indies golden bells adorned the feet and ankles of the ladies from the earliest times; they placed them in the flowing tresses of their hair; they suspended them round their necks and to the golden rings which they wore on their fingers, to announce their superior rank, and exact the homage which they had a right to expect from the lower orders;<sup>m</sup> and from the banks of the Indus, it is probable the custom was introduced into the other countries of Asia.<sup>n</sup>

The Arabian females in Palestine and Syria, delight in the same ornaments, and according to the statements of Dr. Clarke, seem to claim the honour of leading the fashion. "Their bodies are covered with a long blue shift; upon their heads they wear two handkerchiefs; one as a hood, and the other bound over it, as a fillet across the temples. Just above the right nostril they place a small button, sometimes studded with pearl, a piece of glass, or any other glittering substance; this is fastened by a plug thrust through the cartilage of the nose. Sometimes they have the cartilaginous separation between the nostrils bored for a ring as large as those ordinarily used in Europe for hanging curtains; and this pendant in the upper lip covers the mouth; so that, in order to eat, it is neces-

<sup>1</sup> Trav. p. 157. <sup>m</sup> Maurice's Ind. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 339; and vol. v, p. 139.

<sup>n</sup> Maurice's Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii, p. 38. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 263. Buckingham's Trav. in Palestine, vol. i, p. 79.— "Most of the women," says Mr. Buckingham, "that we saw (at Soor, or Tyre), wore also silver bells, or other appendages of precious metal, suspended by silken cords to the hair of the head."

sary to raise it. Their faces, hands, and arms are tattooed, and covered with hideous scars; their eye-lashes and eyes being always painted, or rather dirtied with some dingy black or blue powder. Their lips are dyed of a deep and dusky blue, as if they had been eating blackberries. Their teeth are jet black; their nails and fingers brick red; their wrists, as well as their ankles, are laden with large metal cinctures, studded with sharp pyramidal knobs and bits of glass. Very ponderous rings are also placed in their ears."<sup>o</sup>

But the persons of the Assyrian ladies are elegantly clothed and scented with the richest oils and perfumes;<sup>p</sup> and it appears from the sacred Scriptures, that the Jewish females did not yield to them in the elegance of their dress, the beauty of their ornaments, and the fragrance of their essences. So pleasing to the Redeemer is the exercise of divine grace in the heart and conduct of a true believer: "How much better is thy love than wine, and the smell of thine ointments than all spices? The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon."<sup>q</sup> When a queen was to be chosen by the king of Persia instead of Vashti, the virgins collected at Susana, the capital, underwent a purification of twelve months duration, to wit, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours."<sup>r</sup> The general use of such precious oils and fragrant perfumes among the ancient Romans, particularly among ladies of rank and fashion, may be inferred from these words of Virgil:

"Ambrosiaque comæ divinum vertice odorem

Spiravere: pedes vestis fluxit ad imos."

*Æn.* lib. i, l. 403.

<sup>o</sup> Clarke's Trav. in Palest. vol. ii, chap. xiii, p. 425, 426. Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 111.

<sup>q</sup> Song iv, 10, 11.

<sup>p</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 228.

<sup>r</sup> Esther ii, 12.

“From her head the ambrosial locks breathed divine fragrance; her robe hung waving down to the ground.” In the remote age of Homer, the Greeks had already learnt the lavish use of such perfumes; for in describing Juno’s dress, he represents her pouring ambrosia and other perfumes all over her body:

————— Ἀλυσσάτω δὲ λαρ ἱλάνω,

Ἀμύραν.

Il. lib. xii, l. 187.\*

Hence, to an eastern lady, no punishment could be more severe, none more mortifying to her delicacy, than a diseased and loathsome habit of body, instead of a beautiful skin, softened and made agreeable with all that art could devise, and all that nature, so prodigal in those countries of rich perfumes, could supply. Such was the punishment which God threatened to send upon the haughty daughters of Zion in the days of Isaiah: “And it shall come to pass, that instead of perfume there shall be ill savour; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and a sun-burnt skin instead of beauty.”†

The description which Pietro della Valle gives of his own wife, an Assyrian lady, born in Mesopotamia, and educated at Bagdad, whom he married in that country, will enable the reader to form a pretty distinct idea of the appearance and ornaments of an oriental lady in full dress. “Her eye-lashes, which are long, and according to the custom of the east, dressed with stibium, (as we often read in the holy Scriptures of the Hebrew women of old; and in Xenophon of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, and the Medes of that line), give a dark, and at the same time a majestic shade to the eyes.”‡

\* The maid, says Hesiod, anointed with fat oil feels no cold. *Opera et Dies*. l. 522, 523.

† Isa. iii, 24.

‡ Trav. vol. i, p. 17.

"The ornaments of gold, and of jewels for the head, for the neck, for the arms, for the legs, and for the feet, (for they wear rings even on their toes), are, indeed, unlike those of the Turks, carried to great excess, but not of great value; for in Bagdad, jewels of high price either are not to be had; or are not used; and they wear such only as are of little value, as turquoises, small rubies, emeralds, carbuncles, garnets, pearls, and the like. My spouse dresses herself with all of them, according to their fashion; with exception, however, of certain ugly rings, of very large size, set with jewels, which in truth, very absurdly, it is the custom to wear fastened to one of their nostrils, like buffaloes; an ancient custom, however, in the east, which, as we find in the holy Scriptures, prevailed among the Hebrew ladies, even in the time of Solomon." These nose-rings, in compliance to me, she has left off; but I have not yet been able to prevail with her cousin, and her sisters, to do the same; so fond are they of an old custom, be it ever so absurd, who have been long habituated to it."

Besides the rings, chains, and bracelets which load the ears, the neck, and the arms of the Syrian ladies, they wear on their head a hollow silver horn which rises obliquely from their forehead, similar in shape to that worn by the other sex. This seems to have been a very ancient custom; for in the song of Hannah, when she presented her first born, Samuel, at the temple, she exclaims, "Mine horn is exalted in the LORD."

\* Prov. xi, 22.      \* Also Buckingham's Trav. in Palest. vol. i, p. 79.

\* 1 Sam. ii, 1. See Buckingham's Trav. vol. i, p. 78.—The Druses women of the town of Caypha wear a horn pointing backwards from the crown of their heads; but the Druses of Mount Lebanon wear a similar horn pointing forwards. Ibid. vol. i, p. 179.

## CHAP. V.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE, FROM THE MEALS AND  
PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE EAST.

*Morning meal.—Dinner.—Supper.—Entertainments among the Jews, all of one kind, provided at the expense of one man.—Materials of their entertainments, at first plain and simple.—Bread of wheat flour.—Barley bread used only in times of scarcity.—Barley bread first used by men.—Roasted their grain in the first ages.—Pounding it in a mortar.—Corn-mills.—Grind their corn in the morning.—Accompanied with singing.—Ovens.—Small plates of iron used.—The hearth.—Stone pitcher.—Shallow earthen vessel.—Jackson's description of an eastern oven.—Eastern bread, how made.—Public bakehouses.—Burgle, or boiled wheat.—Sawick, or corn parched in the ear.—Different kinds of fuel.—Devices to spare the fuel.—Flesh of sheep and oxen used for food.—Honey.—Butter and honey.—Honey in the comb.—Shoulder of lamb.—Providing an abundant supply of water.—Wine.—Artificial liquors.—Kept in earthen jars.—Cooling wines.—Manner of inviting guests to a feast.—Tickets of admission.—Saluting the guests.—The ancient Greeks and Romans sat at meals.—Custom of reclining afterwards introduced.—Tables, how constructed.—Their beds or couches.—The guests, how placed at table.—Washed and anointed themselves before they went.—The Jews washed their hands and feet before dinner.—After meals they washed them again.—Washing the feet generally performed by women.—Reckoned a mean office.—Both Jews and heathens commenced their feasts with prayers.—Public entertainments conducted in various ways.—Great magnificence displayed in their public feasts.—Dress worn on such occasions.—Precious ointments used at entertainments.—Governor of the feast.—Drinking wine before or after meat.—Oriental banquets often spread on the green grass, under the shade of a tree.—Strangers happening to pass invited.—Arabs use no spoons.—The oriental feast enlivened with music and dancing.—By agreeable conversation.—By asking difficult questions.—Valedictory mark of regard.—The guests dismissed with costly presents.—A part of what remained from the*

*feast sent to relations and acquaintances.—The women feast by themselves.  
—The fragments eaten up by the poor.*

IN Greece and other countries, they had their morning meal, consisting of bread and wine unmixed with water; but to eat and drink in the morning was considered in Israel as an act of debauchery; and Solomon pronounces a woe upon the land, when the people of rank and influence indulged in the pleasures of the table at such an unseasonable time: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning." The Jews might, perhaps, take a slight repast like the Greeks, about sun rising, although this is very uncertain; but they neither sat down to meat, nor drank wine till after the morning sacrifice. The Syrians of the present day breakfast as soon as they get up in the morning, on a variety of solid food;<sup>a</sup> which seems to indicate a change in the manners of the country in this instance. They dine about eleven o'clock in the forenoon in winter, and rather earlier in summer; and sup about five o'clock in the winter, and six in the summer. Their dinner is more sparing and short; their supper more rich and magnificent. Such also was the mode of living, in the primitive ages of Greece and Rome; frugal and temperate, they thought it sufficient to take a moderate and hasty breakfast; and after the business and labour of the day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful meal.<sup>b</sup> In many parts of the New Testament, the supper is in like manner mentioned as the principal meal: "Herod on his birth-day, made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of

<sup>a</sup> Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 166, 176.

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Antiq. vol. ii, p. 353. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 433.

Galilee ;”<sup>c</sup> and in the parable, a certain man made a great supper, and bade many.<sup>d</sup> When Jesus visited Lazarus and his sisters, on his way to the passover, “ they made him a supper.”<sup>e</sup>

The entertainments among the Jews appear to have been all of one kind, provided at the expense of one man ; we have no instance in Scripture of the *separos*, so common among the Greeks ; an entertainment made at the common charge of all present, in which every man contributed his proportion ; if the supper given to the Saviour by his friends in Bethany immediately before he suffered, may not be considered as one.<sup>f</sup> The materials of which the Jewish entertainments consisted, were at first plain and simple ; these were commonly bread and milk, and fruits and herbs. Sparing in the use of flesh, like all the nations of the east, the chosen people usually satisfied their hunger with bread, and quenched their thirst in the running stream. So necessary were bread and water to their subsistence, that under these two words, they comprehended every species of food. Their bread was generally made of wheat or barley, or lentiles and beans. Bread of wheat flour, as being the most excellent, was preferred ; barley bread was used only in times of scarcity and distress. Barley bread is in some regions of Persia commonly used by the lower orders.<sup>g</sup> It must not however be omitted, that in making bread, barley was used before any other sort of corn ; for it is reported, says Artemidorus,<sup>h</sup> that this was the first food which the gods imparted to mankind ; and it was, according to Pliny,<sup>i</sup> the

<sup>c</sup> Mark vi, 21.

<sup>d</sup> Luke xiv, 16.

<sup>e</sup> John xii, 2.

<sup>f</sup> Compare Mat. xxvi, 1, and Mark xiv, 1, with John xii, 2.

<sup>g</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 334. Pitts, p. 35, 208.

<sup>h</sup> Lib. i, cap. 71.

<sup>i</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xviii, cap. 13, 14, 18.

most ancient sort of provision. But in more civilized ages, to use the words of the same author, barley bread came to be the food of beasts only ; yet it was still used by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their tables with better provisions ; and in the Roman camp, as Vegetius and Livy inform us, soldiers who had been guilty of any offence, were fed with barley, instead of bread corn.<sup>1</sup> An example of this punishment is recorded in the history of the second Punic war :—The cohorts that lost their standards, had an allowance of barley assigned by Marcellus.<sup>2</sup> And Augustus Cæsar commonly punished the cohorts which gave way to the enemy, by a decimation, and allowing them no provision but barley.<sup>1</sup> So mean and contemptible, in the estimation of the numerous and well appointed armies of Midian, was Gideon, with his handful of undisciplined militia ; but guided by the wisdom, and supported by the power of the living God, he inflicted a deserved and exemplary punishment on these proud oppressors. The meagre barley cake was put into the hand of Midian by the God of armies, as a punishment for disobedience of orders, not to make a full end of his chosen people. “ And when Gideon was come, behold, there was a man that told a dream unto his fellow, and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream, and lo, a cake of barley bread tumbled into the host of Midian, and came unto a tent and smote it, that it fell, and overturned it, that the tent lay along. And his fellow answered and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon, the son of Joash, a man of Israel ; for into his hand hath God delivered Midian, and all the host.”<sup>m</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Re Militari, lib. iii, cap. 13. Hist. lib. xxvii, cap. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. lib. xxvii, p. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Judg. vii, 13, 14.

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, cap. 24, p. 55, decimatas hordeo pavit.



In the first ages, they parched or roasted their grain; a practice which the people of Israel, as we learn from the Scriptures, long continued; afterwards they pounded it in a mortar, to which Solomon thus alludes: "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat, with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."<sup>a</sup> This was succeeded by mills, similar to the hand-mills formerly used in this country; of which there were two sorts: the first were large, and turned by the strength of horses or asses; the second were smaller, and wrought by men, commonly by slaves condemned to this hard labour, as a punishment for their crimes. Chardin remarks in his manuscript, that the persons employed are generally female slaves, who are least regarded, or are least fit for any thing else: for the work is extremely laborious, and esteemed the lowest employment about the house. Most of their corn is ground by these little mills, although they sometimes make use of large mills, wrought by oxen or camels. Near Ispahan, and some of the other great cities of Persia, he saw water-mills; but he did not meet with a single wind-mill in the east. Almost every family grinds their wheat and barley at home, having two portable mill-stones for that purpose; of which the uppermost is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron, that is placed in the rim.<sup>o</sup> When this stone is large, or expedition is required, a second person is called in to assist; and as it is usual for the women only to be concerned in this employment, who seat themselves over against each other, with the millstone between them, we may see the propriety of the expression in the declaration of Moses: "And all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that sitteth upon his throne, even

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xxvii, 22.

<sup>o</sup> Volney's Trav. vol. ii, p. 288.

unto the first-born of the maid-servant, that is behind the mill." <sup>p</sup> The manner in which the hand-mills are worked, is well described by Dr. Clarke, in his travels: "Scarcely had we reached the apartment prepared for our reception, when looking from the window, into the court-yard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill, in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour: "Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left." They were preparing flour to make our bread, as it is always customary in the country when strangers arrive. The two women, seated upon the ground opposite to each other, held between them two round flat stones, such as are seen in Lapland, and such as in Scotland are called querns. In the centre of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn; and by the side of this, an upright wooden handle for moving the stone. As this operation began, one of the women opposite received it from her companion, who pushed it towards her, who again sent it to her companion; thus communicating a rotatory motion to the upper stone, their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine." <sup>q</sup>

When they are not impelled, as in this instance, to premature exertions by the arrival of strangers, they grind their corn in the morning, at break of day; the noise of the mill is then to be heard every where; and is often so great as to rouse the inhabitants of the cities from their slumbers; <sup>q</sup> for it is well known they bake their bread every day, and commonly grind their corn as it is wanted. The

<sup>p</sup> Exod. xi, 5.

<sup>q</sup> Trav. in Palestine, vol. ii, ch. xiii, p. 432.

<sup>r</sup> Odyssey, lib. xx, l. 106-110.

noise of the millstone is therefore, with great propriety, selected by the prophet as one of the tokens of a populous and thriving country; "Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of millstones and the light of a candle, and their whole land shall be a desolation."<sup>1</sup> The morning shall no more be cheered with the joyful sound of the mill, nor the shadows of evening by the light of a candle; the morning shall be silent, and the evening dark and melancholy, where desolation reigns.

"At the earliest dawn of the morning," says Mr. Forbes, "in all the Hindoo towns and villages, the hand mills are at work, when the menials and widows grind meal for the daily consumption of the family: This work is always performed by women, who resume their task every morning, especially the forlorn Hindoo widows, divested of every ornament and with their heads shaved, degraded to almost a state of servitude."<sup>2</sup> How affecting, then, is the call to the daughter of Babylon: "Come down, and sit in the dust, O daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstones, and grind meal: uncover thy locks, make bare the leg, uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers."<sup>3</sup>

The custom of daily grinding their corn for the family, shews the propriety of the law: "No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge;" because if he take either the upper or the nether millstone, he deprives him of his daily pro-

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxv, 10. Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlvii, 1, 2.

vision, which cannot be prepared without them, and, by consequence, exposes him and all his house to utter destruction. That complete and perpetual desolation which, by the just allotment of heaven, is ere long to overtake the mystical Babylon, is clearly signified by the same precept: "The sound of the millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee." The means of subsistence being entirely destroyed, no human creature shall ever occupy the ruined habitations more.

In the book of Judges, the sacred historian alludes, with characteristic accuracy, to several circumstances implied in that custom, where he describes the fall of Abimelech. A woman of Thebez, driven to desperation by his furious attack on the tower, started up from the mill at which she was grinding, seized the upper millstone, (פלוורכט) and rushing to the top of the gate, cast it on his head, and fractured his skull. This was the feat of a woman, for the mill is worked only by females: it was not a piece of a millstone, but the *roller*, the distinguishing name of the upper millstone, which literally rides upon the other, and is a piece or *division* of the mill: it was a stone of "two feet broad," and therefore fully sufficient, when thrown from such a height, to produce the effect mentioned in the narrative.

It displays also the vindictive contempt which suggested the punishment of Samson, the captive ruler of Israel. The Philistines, with barbarous contumely, compelled him to perform the meanest service of a female slave; they sent him to grind in the prison,\* but not for himself alone; this, although extremely mortifying to the hero, had been more tolerable; they made him grinder

\* Rev. xviii, 22.

\* Judg. xvi, 21.

for the prison, while the vilest malefactor was permitted to look on and join in the cruel mockery of his tormentors. Samson, the ruler and avenger of Israel, labours, as Isaiah foretold the virgin daughter of Babylon should labour: "Come down, and sit in [the dust, O virgin, daughter of Babylon; there is no throne, (no seat for thee) O daughter of the Chaldeans - - Take the millstones and grind meal," but not with the wonted song: "Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness,"<sup>w</sup> there to conceal thy vexation and disgrace.

The females engaged in this operation, endeavoured to beguile the lingering hours of toilsome exertion with a song. We learn from an expression of Aristophanes, preserved by Athenæus, that the Grecian maidens accompanied the sound of the millstones with their voices, *ταῖς πτισσούραι ἀλλή τις ᾄδει*. This circumstance imparts an additional beauty and force to the description of the prophet: The light of a candle was no more to be seen in the evening; the sound of the millstones, the indication of plenty; and the song of the grinders, the natural expression of joy and happiness, were no more to be heard at the dawn.<sup>x</sup> The grinding of corn at so early an hour, throws light on a passage of considerable obscurity: "And the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, Rechab and Baanah, went and came about the heat of the day to the house of Ishbosheth, who lay on a bed at noon; and they came thither into the midst of the house, as though they would have fetched wheat, and they smote him under the fifth rib; and Rechab and Baanah his brother escaped."<sup>y</sup> It is still a custom in the east, according to Dr. Perry,<sup>z</sup> to

<sup>w</sup> Isa. xlvii, 1. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>x</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 416.

<sup>y</sup> 2 Sam. iv, 7.

<sup>z</sup> P. 43.

allow their soldiers a certain quantity of corn, with other articles of provisions, together with some pay: and as it was the custom also to carry their corn to the mill at break of day, these two captains very naturally went to the palace the day before, to fetch wheat, in order to distribute it to the soldiers, that it might be sent to the mill at the accustomed hour in the morning. The princes of the east, in those days, as the history of David shews, lounged in their divan, or reposed on their couch, till the cool of the evening began to advance. Rechab and Baanah therefore, came in the heat of the day, when they knew that Ishbosheth their master would be resting on his bed; and as it was necessary, for the reason just given, to have the corn the day before it was needed, their coming at that time, though it might be a little earlier than usual, created no suspicion, and attracted no notice.<sup>a</sup>

In the cities and villages of Barbary, where public ovens are established, the bread is usually leavened; but among the Bedoweens and Kabyles, as soon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, either to be baked immediately upon the coals, or else in a shallow earthen vessel like a frying pan, called *Tajen*.<sup>b</sup> Such were the *unleavened cakes*, which we so frequently read of in Scripture, and those also which *Sarah made quickly upon the hearth*.<sup>c</sup> These last are about an inch thick; and being commonly prepared in woody countries, are used all along the shores of the Black sea, from the Palus-Mæotis to the Caspian, in Chaldea and in Mesopotamia, except in towns.<sup>d</sup> A fire is made in the middle of the room; and when the

<sup>a</sup> Harmer's Oba. vol. i, p. 433.

<sup>b</sup> Niebuhr's Arabia, vol. i, p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xviii, 6. Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 415.

<sup>d</sup> Ray's Collection of Trav. v. 149, 150.

bread is ready for baking, a corner of the hearth is swept, the bread is laid upon it, and covered with ashes and embers; in a quarter of an hour they turn it.<sup>e</sup> Sometimes they use small convex plates of iron : which are most common in Persia, and among the nomadic tribes, as being the easiest way of baking, and done with the least expense; for the bread is extremely thin, and soon prepared.<sup>f</sup> The oven is used in every part of Asia; it is made in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three in diameter, well plastered with mortar. When it is hot, they place the bread (which is commonly long, and not thicker than a finger) against the sides; it is baked in a moment. Ovens, Chardin apprehends, were not used in Canaan in the patriarchal age; all the bread of that time was baked upon a plate, or under the ashes; and he supposes, what is nearly self-evident, that the cakes which Sarah baked on the hearth, were of the last sort, and that the shew-bread was of the same kind.<sup>g</sup> The Arabs about mount Carmel use a great stone pitcher, in which they kindle a fire; and when it is heated, they mix meal and water, which they apply with the hollow of their hands to the outside of the pitcher; and this extremely soft paste, spreading itself, is baked in an instant. The heat of the pitcher having dried up all the moisture, the bread comes off as thin as our wafers; and the operation is so speedily performed, that in a very little time a sufficient quantity is made.<sup>h</sup> But their best sort of bread they bake, either by heating an oven, or a large pitcher half full of little smooth shining flints, upon which they lay the dough, spread out in the form of

<sup>e</sup> Rauwolf, *Descrip. de l'Arabie*, p. 46.

<sup>f</sup> Pococke' *Trav.* vol. ii, p. 96.

<sup>g</sup> Harmer's *Obs.* vol. i, p. 415.

<sup>h</sup> D'Arvieux *Voy. dans la Palest.* p. 192, 193.

a thin broad cake. Sometimes they use a shallow earthen vessel, resembling a frying-pan, which seems to be the pan mentioned by Moses, in which the meat-offering was baked.<sup>1</sup> This vessel, Dr. Shaw informs us, serves both for baking and frying; for the bagreah of the people of Barbary, differs not much from our pancakes, only, instead of rubbing the pan in which they fry them with butter, they rub it with soap to make them like a honey comb. If these accounts of the Arab stone pitcher, the pan, and the iron hearth or copper plate, be attended to, it will not be difficult to understand the laws of Moses in the second chapter of Leviticus; they will be found to answer perfectly well to the description which he gives us of the different ways of preparing the meat-offerings. The precepts of Moses evidently bear a particular relation to the methods of preparing bread, used by those who live in tents, although they were sufficient for the direction of his people after their settlement in Canaan; and his mentioning cakes of bread baked in the oven, and wafers that were baked on the outside of these pitchers, in the fourth verse, with bread baked on a plate, and in a pan, in the fifth and seventh verses, inclines Mr. Harmer to think, the people of Israel prepared their meat-offerings in their tents, which they afterwards presented at the national altar, rather than in the court of the tabernacle.

These pitchers, which the modern Arabs use for baking cakes of bread within them, and wafers on their outside, are not the only portable ovens in the east. Jerome, in his Commentary on Lamentations, describes an

<sup>1</sup> Lev. ii, 5. Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 416, nota.

<sup>2</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 419.



eastern oven as a round vessel of brass, whose sides are blackened by the surrounding fire. Such, it is probable, were the ovens mentioned by Moses, and used in the east, long before the age in which he flourished.

Mr. Jackson, in his Journey over land from India, gives an account of an eastern oven, equally instructive and amusing, as it confirms the statements of ancient travellers, and shews the surprising expertness of the Arabian women in baking their bread. "They have a small place built with clay, between two and three feet high, having a hole at the bottom for the convenience of drawing out the ashes, something similar to a lime-kiln. The oven (which he thinks the most proper name for this place,) is usually about fifteen inches wide at top, and gradually widening to the bottom. It is heated with wood; and when sufficiently hot, and perfectly clear from the smoke, having nothing but clear embers at the bottom, which continue to reflect great heat, they prepare the dough in a large bowl, and mould the cakes to the desired size on a board, or stone, placed near the oven. After they have kneaded the cake to a proper consistence, they pat it a little, then toss it about with great dexterity in one hand, till it is as thin as they choose to make it. They then wet one side of it with water, at the same time wetting the hand and arm with which they put it into the oven. The side of the cake adheres fast to the side of the oven, till it is sufficiently baked, when, if not paid proper attention to, it would fall down among the embers. If they were not exceedingly quick at this work, the heat of the oven would burn their arms; but they perform it with such an amazing dexterity, that one woman will continue keep-

\* Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 419.

ing three or four cakes in the oven at once, till she has done baking. This mode, he adds, requires not half the fuel that is consumed in Europe."<sup>j</sup>

In this way Tamar seems to have prepared the cakes for her brother Amnon: "She took flour and made dough, and kneaded it into a proper consistence, (*vatilabeb*) and tossed it about in her hand; (*vathebashel*) and dressed or baked the cakes in his sight." Nor should it appear strange that a king's daughter in the reign of David, was employed in this menial service; for Dr. Russel says, the eastern ladies often prepare cakes and other things in their own apartments; and some few particular dishes are cooked by themselves, but not in their apartments; on such occasions they go to some room near the kitchen.<sup>k</sup> The eastern bread is made in small, thin, moist cakes: it must be eaten new, and is unfit for use when kept longer than a day. Both Russel and Rauwolf, however, mention several kinds of bread and cakes; some which are done with yolks of eggs; some which are mixed with coriander and other seeds; and some which are strewed with them; and Pitts describes a kind of biscuits, which the Mahometan pilgrims carry from Egypt to Mecca, and back again, perfectly fresh and good.<sup>l</sup>

The holy Scriptures accord with the narratives of modern travellers, in representing the oriental loaves as very small, three of them being required for the repast of a single person: "Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, friend, lend me three loaves: for a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?"<sup>m</sup> It appears also from the history of Abraham, and particu-

<sup>j</sup> P. 50.

<sup>k</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. i, p. 425, note by the editor.

<sup>l</sup> Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 116; and Ray's Trav. p. 95.

<sup>m</sup> Luke xi, 5, 6.

larly from his entertaining the three angels, that they were generally eaten new, and baked as they were needed.<sup>n</sup> Sometimes, however, they were made to keep several days; for the shew bread might be eaten after it had stood a week before the Lord. The pretence of the Gibeonites, that their bread had become mouldy from the length of the road, although it was taken fresh from the oven when they left home, proves, that bread for a journey was made to keep a considerable time. In every one of these minute circumstances, the sacred volume perfectly corresponds with the statements of modern travellers.

One species of bread used in ancient Palestine, bears the name of nekoudim, in the history of the kings, about the meaning of which, some diversity of opinion prevails. The word occurs in the instructions which Jeroboam gave to his wife, and is rendered cracknels in our translation: "And Jeroboam said to his wife, - - - take with thee ten loaves, and (נֶקֹודִים) cracknels, and a cruise of honey, and go to him; he shall tell thee what shall become of the child." Buxtorf supposes, that the original term signifies biscuits, either because they were formed into little buttons, or because they were pricked full of holes in a particular manner. The last idea was adopted by our translators; for cracknels are a sort of bread which is full of holes, and formed into a flourish of lattice work. But the word is derived from a participle, which no where signifies pierced with holes, or formed into net work, but spotted or speckled. It is accordingly used by Moses, to signify those cattle in the flocks of Laban, which were marked with spots.<sup>o</sup> In the book of Joshua, it denotes those mouldy spots on the bread of the Gibeonites, which they pretended the length of their journey had occasioned.<sup>p</sup> In the feminine gen-

<sup>n</sup> This is still the custom among the Arabian shepherds. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 244, 246, 251.    <sup>o</sup> Gen. xxxiii, 32, 33,    <sup>p</sup> Josh. ix, 12.

der, it denotes studs or spots of silver ; and is rendered in the Septuagint, *σχηματισμὸς* ; and by the Vulgate, *vermiculatas*, inlaid.<sup>1</sup> The idea of Mr. Harmer is, therefore, to be preferred, that it denotes cakes or loaves strewed, and by consequence spotted with coriander and other seeds ; a sort of bread which is still quite common in Syria, and many other countries of the east.<sup>2</sup>

In primitive times, an oven was designed only to serve a single family, and to bake for them no more than the bread of one day ; a custom which still continues in some places of the east ; but the increase of population in the cities, higher degrees of refinement, or other causes in the progress of time, suggested the establishment of public bakehouses. They seem to have been introduced into Judea long before the captivity ; for the prophet Jeremiah speaks of " the baker's street," in the most familiar manner, as a place well known.<sup>3</sup> This, however, might be only a temporary establishment, to supply the wants of the soldiers assembled from other places, to defend Jerusalem. If they received a daily allowance of bread, as is the practice still in some eastern countries, from the royal bakehouses, the order of the king to give the prophet daily a piece of bread, out of the street where they were erected, in the same manner as the defenders of the city, was perfectly natural. The custom alluded to, still maintains its ground at Algiers, where the unmarried soldiers receive every day from the public bakehouses, a certain number of loaves.<sup>4</sup> Pitts indeed asserts, that the Algerines have public bakehouses for the accommodation of the whole city.<sup>5</sup> The women prepare their dough at home,

<sup>1</sup> Song i, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxxvii, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 454.

<sup>4</sup> Observ. vol. i, p. 422, 423.

<sup>5</sup> P. 65.

and the bakers send their boys about the streets, to give notice of their being ready to receive and carry it to the bakehouses. They bake their cakes every day, or every other day, and give the boy who brings the bread home, a piece or little cake for the baking, which is sold by the baker.<sup>u</sup> Small as the eastern loaves are, it appears from this account, that they give a piece of one only to the baker, as a reward for his trouble. This will perhaps illustrate Ezekiel's account of the false prophets, receiving pieces of bread by way of gratuities: "And will ye pollute me among my people, for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread?"<sup>v</sup> These are compensations still used in the east, but of the meanest kind, and for services of the lowest sort.

They have other ways of preparing their corn for food, besides making it into bread. *Burgle* is very commonly used among the Christians of Aleppo; which is wheat boiled, then bruised in a mill so as to separate it from the husk, after which it is dried, and laid up for use. The drying of *burgle*, though mentioned by some writers as a modern operation, seems to throw light on a remarkable passage in the history of David; the concealment of his two spies in a well whose mouth was covered with corn. The custom of exposing corn in this way, must have been very common in Judea, else it had rather excited suspicion in the minds of the pursuers, than diverted their attention from the spot where the spies were concealed. That the well's mouth was covered on that occasion with

<sup>u</sup> The chief baker among the Persians was dignified with the title of *Mirza*, or lord; from whence it may be inferred that Pharaoh's chief baker was a person of equal dignity. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 103.

<sup>v</sup> Ezek. xiii, 19.

burgle or boiled wheat, is exceedingly probable ; for Dr. Russel observes,<sup>w</sup> that in preparing it after it has been softened in warm water, it is commonly laid out in the court-yard to dry. It could not be flour or meal ; for they grind it only in small quantities, and as they want it, and never are known to expose it in this way. Bishop Patrick supposes it was corn newly thrashed out, she pretended to dry ; but if this was practised at all, of which we have no evidence, it was by no means common, and therefore calculated rather to betray, than to conceal the spies. Besides, the same word is used to signify corn beaten in a mortar with a pestle,<sup>x</sup> not on the barn floor with a thrashing instrument ; now burgle is actually pounded in this manner. It was therefore burgle or boiled wheat, which d'Arvieux expressly says is dried in the sun ; adding that they prepare a whole year's provision of it at once. Wheat and barley were prepared in the same way by the ancient Romans ; which renders it very probable that the custom was universal among the civilized nations of antiquity.<sup>y</sup> This is the reason that neither the exposure of the corn, nor the large quantity, produced the least suspicion ; every circumstance accorded with the public usage of the country, and by consequence, the preparation of this species of food is as ancient as the days of David.<sup>z</sup>

Sawick is a different preparation, and consists of corn parched in the ear ; it is made, as well of barley and rice, as of wheat. It is never called in the inspired volume, parched flour or meal, but always parched corn ; and

<sup>w</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 117. See also Dr. Clarke's note, Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 473.

<sup>x</sup> Prov. xxvii, 22.

<sup>y</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xviii, c. 14.

<sup>z</sup> See Harmer's Obs. vol. i, p. 468.

consequently, seems to remain after the roasting, and to be eaten in the state of corn. In confirmation of this idea, we may quote a fact stated by Hasselquist, that in journeying from Acre to Sidon, he saw a shepherd eating his dinner, consisting of half ripe ears of wheat roasted, which he eat, says the traveller, with as good an appetite as a Turk does his pillow. The same kind of food, he says, is much used in Egypt by the poor; they roast the ears of Turkish wheat or millet; but it is in his account far inferior to bread.<sup>a</sup> Dr. Shaw is of a different opinion; he supposes the *kali*, or parched corn of the Scriptures, which he translates parched pulse, means parched cicers. But we frequently read in Scripture of dried or parched corn; and the word used in those passages, is most naturally to be understood of corn, and not of pulse. Besides, Rauwolf asserts<sup>b</sup> that cicers are used in the east only as a part of the desert after their meals. But it cannot be reasonably supposed, that Boaz would entertain his reapers with things of this kind: or that those fruits which in modern times are used only in deserts, formed the principal part of a reaper's meal, in the field of so wealthy a proprietor. This, however, the opinion of Dr. Shaw requires to be supposed; for it is said in the inspired record, "He reached Ruth parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left."<sup>c</sup> Nor can it well be supposed, that a trifling article in a desert would have been thought of so much importance by an inspired writer, as to obtain a prominent place in his account of the provisions with which the armies of Israel were supplied, immediately after crossing the Jordan. "And they did eat of the old corn of the land, on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes,

<sup>a</sup> P. 166, 167.    <sup>b</sup> Ray's Collec. of Trav. vol. i, p. 68.    <sup>c</sup> Ruth ii, 14.

and parched cicers (corn) in the self same day."<sup>d</sup> Would an inspired writer say, as if he had been recording some very important matter, that the manna ceased after they had enjoyed a desert of cicers? If not, the word kali must refer, not to cicers or any other pulse, but to parched corn, as it is properly rendered in our translation, an article of great importance in the daily sustenance of that people. The justice of these remarks is fully verified by the list of provisions which the nobles of Israel, on the other side of Jordan, sent to David, when he fled before his son Absalom, in which parched corn and parched pulse are mentioned in different parts of the statement, and as distinct articles: "They brought wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse,"<sup>e</sup> to which class the cicer belongs; therefore, they cannot be reckoned the same, without charging the inspired historian with an idle tautology. Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that he meant the flour of dried or parched grain; for why then does he continue to call it corn? When reduced to flour or meal, it is no longer in the state of corn, and is never, in any writing that has the least pretensions to accuracy, called by that name. In the same passage, the sacred writer distinguishes the wheat and barley from the flour of these grains; what satisfactory reason then can be assigned for his calling the flour of dried or roasted grain, by the strange and deceptive name of parched corn? Is it not much more natural to suppose, the reason is, because it was roasted in the ear, and eaten in that state? This accords with fact; for Hasselquist actually saw roasted ears of corn eaten to dinner in Palestine. It is not meant to deny that they

<sup>d</sup> Josh. v, 11.<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. xvii, 28.



used flour of parched corn ; this they frequently did ; but they never called it parched corn, but uniformly gave it the appropriate name of flour.

In preparing their victuals, the orientals are, from the extreme scarcity of wood in many countries, reduced to use cow dung for fuel. At Aleppo, the inhabitants use wood and charcoal in their rooms, but heat their baths with cow dung, the parings of fruit, and other things of a similar kind, which they employ people to gather for that purpose.<sup>f</sup> In Egypt, according to Pitts, the scarcity of wood is so great, that at Cairo they commonly heat their ovens with horse or cow dung, or dirt of the streets; what wood they have, being brought from the shores of the Black sea, and sold by weight.<sup>g</sup> Chardin attests the same fact ; “ The eastern people always used cow dung for baking, boiling a pot, and dressing all kinds of victuals that are easily cooked, especially in countries that have but little wood ;” and Dr. Russel remarks, in a note, that “ the Arabs carefully collect the dung of the sheep and camel, as well as that of the cow ; and that the dung, offals, and other matters, used in the bagnios, after having been new gathered in the streets, are carried out of the city, and laid in great heaps to dry, where they become very offensive. They are intolerably disagreeable, while drying, in the town adjoining to the bagnios ; and are so at all times when it rains, though they be stacked, pressed hard together, and thatched at top.”<sup>h</sup> These statements exhibit, in a very strong light, the extreme misery of the Jews, who escaped from the devouring sword of Nebuchadnezzar : “ They that feed delicately, are desolate in

<sup>f</sup> Russel's Hist. vol. i, p. 38.

<sup>g</sup> P. 104.

<sup>h</sup> Clarke's Harmer, vol. i, p. 45, note by the editor.

the streets ; they that were brought up in scarlet, embrace dunghills.”<sup>1</sup> To embrace dunghills, is a species of wretchedness, perhaps unknown to us in the history of modern warfare ; but it presents a dreadful and appalling image, when the circumstances to which it alludes are recollected. What can be imagined more distressing to those who lived delicately, than to wander without food in the streets ? What more disgusting and terrible to those who had been clothed in rich and splendid garments, than to be forced by the destruction of their palaces, to seek shelter among stacks of dung, the filth and stench of which it is almost impossible to endure. The dunghill, it appears from holy writ, is one of the common retreats of the mendicant, which imparts an exquisite force and beauty to a passage in the song of Hannah : “ He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory.”<sup>2</sup> The change in the circumstances of that excellent woman, she reckoned as great, (and it was to her not less unexpected) as the elevation of a poor despised beggar ; from a nauseous and polluting dunghill, rendered tenfold more foetid by the intense heat of an oriental sun, to one of the highest and most splendid stations on earth.

The custom of baking their bread with dung, serves also to explain and illustrate the charge which Jehovah gave to the prophet Ezekiel, to prepare or bake his bread with such fuel. To display, by a most significant emblem, the extreme misery and wretchedness of his people in their dispersion, he receives a command to bake his bread with human excrement ; but in answer to his earnest entreaties, he obtains permission to use cow dung.<sup>3</sup> Had

<sup>1</sup> Lam. iv. 5.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 8.<sup>3</sup> Ezek. iv. 12.

cow dung been ordered at first, it would have by no means sufficiently explained those necessities, and that filthiness in their manner of living, to which the captives were to be reduced among the rivers of Babylon ; because many orientals use cow dung in baking their bread : he is therefore commanded to make use of human dung, as some nations of the east are actually compelled to do.<sup>1</sup> And although the command was afterwards mitigated, the end in view was obtained ; a fearful picture of the misery in which the captive Jews were to linger out their wretched years, was placed under the eye of that stubborn people. Even the bread prepared with cow dung, is extremely disagreeable. D'Arvieux complains of the foetid smell emitted by their cakes ;<sup>2</sup> and Tournefort avers, " it is almost inconceivable what a horrid perfume this dung makes in the houses ; every thing they eat has a stench of this vapour. It is evident from these facts, that the prophet was not commanded, as Voltaire alleges, to eat human ordure, mingled with his victuals, but only to use it as fuel. This had certainly communicated a most nauseous taste to the bread : yet several nations of Caucasus, that have very little fuel of any kind, submit to it every day. But if it is not inconsistent with the majesty of God, to reduce a portion of his rational creation to such painful circumstances, it could not be inconsistent to lay that command on Ezekiel for a few months."<sup>3</sup>

Dung is used as fuel in the east only when wood cannot be had ; for the latter, and even any other combustible substance, is preferred whenever it can be obtained. The inhabitants of Aleppo, according to Russel,<sup>4</sup> use

<sup>1</sup> Sandy's Trav. p. 85.    <sup>2</sup> P. 193, 194.    <sup>3</sup> See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 459, Dr. Clarke's note.

thorns and fuel of a similar kind, for those culinary purposes which require haste, particularly for boiling, which seems to be the reason that Solomon mentions the "crackling of thorns under a pot," rather than in some other way. The same allusion to the use of thorns for boiling, occurs in other parts of the sacred volume: Thus the Psalmist assures the wicked, "Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath." The Jews are sometimes compared in the prophets to "a brand plucked out of the burning;"<sup>p</sup> a figure which Chardin considers as referring to vine twigs, and other brushwood which the orientals frequently use for fuel, and which, in a few minutes, must be consumed if they are not snatched out of the fire; and not to those battens, or large branches, commonly distinguished by that name in those regions, which will lie a long time in the fire before they are reduced to ashes. If this idea be correct, it displays in a stronger and more lively manner the weakness of Israel and Joshua the high priest; the extreme danger to which they were exposed, and the reasonable interposition of Jehovah, than is furnished by any other view of the phrase. The same remark applies to the figure by which the prophet Isaiah describes the sudden and complete destruction of Rezin, and the son of Remaliah; only in this passage, the firebrands are supposed to be smoking; that is, in the opinion of Harmer, "having the steam issuing with force from one end, in consequence of the fire burning violently at the other, by which they are speedily reduced to ashes." The words of the prophet are, "Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted, for the two tails of these smoking

<sup>p</sup> Amos iv, 11. Zech. iii, 2. Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 460.

firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah."<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to conceive an image more striking than this ; the remains of two small twigs burning with violence at one end, as appears by the steaming of the other, are soon reduced to ashes ; so shall the kingdoms of Syria and Israel sink into ruin, and disappear.

The scarcity of fuel in the east obliges the inhabitants to use, by turns, every kind of combustible matter. The withered stalks of herbs and flowers, the tendrils of the vine, the small branches of myrtle, rosemary, and other plants, are all used in heating their ovens and bagnios.<sup>2</sup> We can easily recognize this practice in these words of our Lord : "Consider the lilies of the field how they grow ; they toil not, neither do they spin ; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith."<sup>3</sup> The grass of the field in this passage, evidently includes the lilies of which our Lord had just been speaking ; and by consequence herbs in general ; and in this extensive sense the word *χρῆλος* is not unfrequently taken. These beautiful productions of nature, so richly arrayed, and so exquisitely perfumed, that the splendour even of Solomon is not to be compared with theirs, shall soon wither and decay, and be used as fuel to heat the oven and the bagnio. Has God so adorned these flowers and plants of the field, which retain their beauty and vigour but for a

<sup>1</sup> Isa. vii, 4. Harmer's Obs. vol. i, p. 461. Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Math. vi, 28-30.

few days, and are then applied to some of the meanest purposes of life ; and will he not much more clothe you that are the disciples of his own Son, that are capable of immortality, and destined to the enjoyment of eternal happiness ?<sup>u</sup>

To compensate in some measure for the scarcity of fuel, the orientals endeavour to consume as little as possible in preparing their victuals. For this purpose they make a hole in their dwellings, about a foot and a half deep, in which they put their earthen pots, with the meat in them, closed up, about the half above the middle ; three-fourth parts they lay about with stones, and the fourth part is left open, through which they fling in their dried dung, and any other combustibile substances they can procure, which burn immediately, and produce so great a heat, that the pot becomes as hot as if it stood over a strong fire of coals ; so that they boil their meat with greater expedition and much less fuel, than it can be done upon the hearth.<sup>v</sup> As the people of Israel, in the wilderness, must have been reduced to the necessity of sparing their fuel as much as any other oriental nation, the preceding statement may be considered as a simple, but satisfactory comment, on the charge given by Moses on the law : “ And every thing, whereupon any part of their carcase falleth, shall be unclean, whether it be oven, or ranges for pots, they shall be broken down ; for they are unclean, and shall be unclean to you.”<sup>w</sup> One commentator supposes the word translated ranges for pots, signifies an earthen pot to boil meat in, with a lid ; another provides it with feet ; but such vessels come under the direction of the

<sup>u</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 462.

<sup>v</sup> Rauwolf's Trav. p. 192.

<sup>w</sup> Lev. xi, 35.

thirty-third verse, which requires them, when they have been polluted, to be broken: while the ranges for pots were, like altars, houses, or walls of cities, to be broken down. This perfectly agrees with Rauwolff's description of the eastern apparatus for boiling a pot, three parts of which were laid or built about with stones: this little building the law of Moses required to be broken down when it happened to become ceremonially unclean.

The hole in which the pot is set, has an aperture on one side, for the purpose of receiving the fuel, which seems to be what Jeremiah calls the face of the pot: "I see," said the prophet, "a pot, and the face thereof is towards the north;"<sup>\*</sup> intimating that the fuel to heat it was to be brought from that quarter. This emblematical prediction was fulfilled when Nebuchadnezzar, whose dominions lay to the north of Palestine, led his armies against Jerusalem, and overturned the thrones of the house of David.<sup>†</sup>

The descendants of Shem, in the line of Abraham, using the liberty granted after the deluge to the second father of the human race, to eat the flesh "of every moving thing that liveth," from the beginning subjected the sheep and the ox to the knife; but they seem for many successive ages to have spared, on all ordinary occasions, the young of the flock, and of the herd. So late as the days of Amos, "to eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall," was considered as the conduct of a very degenerate race, the mark of a luxurious appetite, and a proper object of inspired reproof. This sentiment seems to have been very general in the east; for

<sup>\*</sup> Jer. i, 13.

<sup>†</sup> Amos vi, 5, 6.

<sup>‡</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 465.

in Homer, the aged king of Troy reproached his sons, because they feasted on young lambs and kids.<sup>a</sup> The patriarch Abraham, therefore, yielded to the ardour of eastern hospitality, mingled with love and veneration for the unknown visitants, when he fetched from the herd a calf, tender and good, and dressed it whole for their entertainment. And when the father, in the parable, received in safety his long-lost son, he expressed the joy of his heart by killing for him the fatted calf; which was so uncommon, that it is the only circumstance mentioned in the report of the servant, and resented by the elder son of the family.<sup>a</sup> The hospitality of the wealthiest Jews seldom provided more delicate viands than the flesh of sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle; in this manner, Adonijah entertained his friends when he aspired to the crown; and Abigail endeavoured to avert the vengeance of David, by a present of "two hundred loaves, and two bottles of wine, and five sheep ready dressed, and five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs."<sup>b</sup>

Among the delicacies at an eastern meal, a prominent place is assigned to honey. The sacred writers often allude to butter and honey, in their glowing descriptions of the prosperity which rewarded the faithful adherence of their people to the service of God, or the happiness which should distinguish the reign of Messiah. We have a striking example in the prophecies of Isaiah, in which he foretells the ruin of Syria, and the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the speedy deliverance of Judah from their oppression: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and ho-

<sup>a</sup> Il. Hb. xxiv, l. 262.

<sup>a</sup> Luke xv, 23, 27, 30.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xxv, 18.



ney shall he eat, that he may know (rather, when he shall know) to refuse the evil and choose the good. For before this child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.”\* Thus, in the sixteenth verse, the prophet assigns a plain reason why the child should eat butter and honey, the food of plentiful times, when he should be capable of distinguishing between good and evil, because the country of the two kings, who now distressed Judah, was before then to be laid waste; and that highly favoured kingdom, rescued from the grasp of her enemies, should recover her wonted prosperity. Butter and honey are also mentioned in the book of Joshua, as the enjoyments of a state of plenty: “The Lord sware unto their fathers, that he would give us a land flowing with milk and honey.” These articles of provision, therefore, naturally denote the plenty which the people of Judea were to possess on the return of peace. In a subsequent verse, they express an abundance arising from the thinness of the population; but that they denote abundance in consequence of the destruction of their enemies is evident, because otherwise, this deliverance is not mentioned; and that a deliverance was intended in these words, is plain, from calling the child which should be born, Immanuel, God with us. It is also proved by the charge which was previously given to the prophet, to announce that deliverance, which he does from the third to the seventh verse; and to his declaration in this manner, the prophecy must undoubtedly be conformable. In the same way Jarchi interprets the passage: That infant shall eat butter and honey, because our land shall be full of all good. The heathen poets also consider these articles as

\* Isa. vii, 15.

delicate food, and among the gifts of prosperity. Thus Callimachus<sup>4</sup> tells how Jupiter was kindly nursed with goats' milk and honey; and Homer sung the tender care of Venus, in rearing with honey, milk, and wine, the infant daughters of Pandareus:

Ορφανὸν ἐν μάγαισι καίεσσι δι' Διὸς Ἀφροδίτην

Τρυφὴν καὶ μέλιτι γλυκύνει καὶ ὕδρι σίτην<sup>5</sup>

The account which is given in the gospel, of the diet of John the Baptist, may be thought a strong objection to this view; he lived on locusts and wild honey; and his life is represented by our Lord as the very reverse of that enjoyed by courtiers and people of fashion, nay, as very different from his own; whence it may be inferred, that the food on which he subsisted was of the coarsest kind. But the inspired narrative only expresses the great simplicity in which he lived; and that he contented himself with what nature offered him in those lonely retreats.

Butter and honey are still reckoned among the greatest delicacies which the east affords: for when D'Arvieux travelled in Palestine, an Arabian prince, who lived in great splendour, and treated him with much kindness, entertained him with little loaves, honey, new churned milk and cream, or leban, more delicate than any he ever saw, together with coffee. And in another place he assures us, that one of the principal things with which the Arabs regale themselves at breakfast, is cream, or new butter mingled with honey.\*

So grateful was this food to their taste, that it would seem they not unfrequently indulged to excess; it is difficult on any other supposition to account for Solomon's

<sup>4</sup> Hymn. in Jov. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Odyssey, lib. xx, l. 68, 69.

<sup>6</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 24; and Russel's Hist. vol. i, p. 166.

remark: "It is not good to eat much honey."<sup>c</sup> He had before observed, in the same chapter, that an excess in eating honey occasioned sickness and vomiting; and here he returns to the subject, and intimates that such intemperance might be followed by fatal effects.

It is no contemptible proof that the sacred writers were infallibly guided by the Spirit of him who made the heavens and the earth, and all that they contain, that no natural fact connected with their subject escapes their notice. They well knew, and often allude to the difference between the delicacy of honey in the comb, and after its separation from it. "More to be desired," said the Psalmist, "are the judgments of the Lord, than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey, yea, than the honey-comb." Hence, in his estimation, honey in the comb, is as much to be preferred to honey after it has been expressed from it, as fine gold to that which is but partially separated from the dross. The accuracy of the inspired writer, in this, as in many other particulars, may be brought to the test of experience: and whoever has eaten honey in the comb, before the cells have been opened, will then perceive a peculiar delicacy of flavour, which is sought for in vain, after it has been expressed or clarified.<sup>b</sup>

The shoulder of a lamb well roasted, and covered with butter and milk, is another delicacy, which the orientals greatly value.<sup>d</sup> This explains the reason why Samuel ordered it to be set before his future sovereign, as well as what that was which was upon it, the butter and milk of

<sup>c</sup> Prov. xxv, 27.

<sup>b</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 62.

<sup>d</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 79.—It is still presented as a proof of regard and ardent hospitality among the modern Arabs. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 136.

which the sacred historian takes so particular notice.— This was by no means a contemptible dish for a royal entertainment, as some have alleged ; but on the contrary, one of the most delicious which could be set before the future anointed of Jehovah. It appears from the accounts of travellers, that lamb is, in those parts of the world, extremely delicate. One, says Chardin, must have eaten of it in several places of Persia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and of their kids, to form a conception of the moisture, taste, delicacy, and fat of this animal; and as the eastern people are no friends of game, nor of fish, nor fowls, their most delicate food is the lamb and the kid. It is therefore not without reason, the sacred writers often speak of the lamb and the kid, as the most agreeable food in those countries ; and that the holy Psalmist celebrates the blessings of salvation, and particularly the spiritual comforts of the heaven-born soul, under the figure of “ marrow and fatness.”<sup>1</sup>

In the sacred Scriptures, bread and water are commonly mentioned as the chief supports of human life ; and to provide a sufficient quantity of water, to prepare it for use, and to deal it out to the thirsty, are still among the principal cares of an oriental householder. To furnish travellers with water is, even in present times, reckoned of so great importance, that many of the eastern philanthropists have been at considerable expense to procure them that enjoyment. The nature of the climate, and the general aspect of the oriental regions, require numerous fountains to excite and sustain the languid powers of vegetation ; and the sun, burning with intense heat in a cloudless sky, demands for the fainting inhabitants the verdure,

<sup>1</sup> Psa. lxiii, 3. Jer. xxxi, 14.

shade, and coolness, which vegetation produces. Hence fountains of living water are met with in the towns and villages, in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracks on the mountains; and a cup of cold water from these wells, is no contemptible present.<sup>k</sup>

In Arabia, equal attention is paid by the wealthy and benevolent, to the refreshment of the traveller. On one of the mountains of Arabia, Niebuhr found three little reservoirs, which are always kept full of fine water for the use of passengers. These reservoirs, which are about two feet and a half square, and from five to seven feet high, are round, or pointed at the top, of mason's work, having only a small opening in one of the sides, by which they pour water into them. Sometimes he found, near these places of Arab refreshment, a piece of a ground shell, or a little scoop of wood for lifting the water.<sup>l</sup>

The same attention to the comfort of travellers, is manifested in Egypt, where public buildings are set apart in some of their cities, the business of whose inhabitants is to supply the passenger with water free of expense. Some of these houses make a very handsome appearance; and the persons appointed to wait on the passengers, are required to have some vessels of copper, curiously tinted and filled with water, always ready on the window next the street.<sup>m</sup> Some of the Mohammedan villagers in Palestine, not far from Nazareth, brought Mr. Buckingham and his party bread and water, while on horseback, with-

<sup>k</sup> Chandler's Travels, &c. p. 20.

<sup>l</sup> Voy. tome i, p. 274.—Mr. Buckingham found a structure of the same kind on the Syrian shore between Tyre and Acre. Trav. vol. i, p. 94.

<sup>m</sup> Niebuhr's Voy. tome i, p. 97.

out even being solicited to do so, and when they halted to accept it, both compliments and blessings were mutually interchanged.<sup>n</sup> Hence a cup of cold water is a present in the east of much value, though there are some other refreshments of a superior quality. When Sisera asked a little water to drink, Jael brought him milk, which she thought he would naturally prefer; and in the book of Proverbs, the mother of Lemuel instructed him to give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that were of heavy hearts. Still, however, the value of a cup of water, though to be numbered among the simplest presents the traveller can receive, is of great value in those countries. If this be duly considered, the declaration of our Lord, "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name," because ye belong to Christ, "Verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward,"<sup>o</sup> is of greater importance than we are apt at first sight to imagine. The general thought is plain to every reader, That no service performed to a disciple of Christ, out of love to his master, although comparatively small, shall remain unrewarded; but the inhabitants of more temperate climates are sometimes ready to think that the instance which our Lord mentions, is rather insignificant. It certainly would not appear so now to an inhabitant of the east, nor did it then, we have reason to believe, appear so to them who heard the Saviour's declaration.<sup>p</sup> But the words of Christ evidently contain more than this; they lead up our thoughts to the character of him for whose sake the cup of water is given. An act of benevolence, how small soever, is certainly pleasing in the sight of God, so far as it proceeds

<sup>n</sup> Trav. vol. ii, p. 385.

<sup>o</sup> Mark ix, 41.

<sup>p</sup> See Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 398.

from proper motives, is performed in the appointed manner, and directed to the proper end, and particularly if it be connected with the name of his own Son. But to give a cup of water to a disciple in the name of Christ, and because he belongs to him, must signify, that it is given in honour of Christ; and this is the particular reason of the reward which the remunerative justice of God bestows. An article in the Asiatic Miscellany, quoted by Dr. Clarke in his edition of Harmer, will set this in a very clear light. In India, the Hindoos go sometimes a great way to fetch water, and then boil it, that it may not be hurtful to travellers who are hot; and after this, stand from morning till night in some great road, where there is neither pit nor rivulet, and offer it in honour of their gods, to be drunk by the passengers. Such necessary works of charity in these hot countries, seem to have been practiced among the more pious and humane Jews; and our Lord assures them, that if they do this in his name, they shall not lose their reward. This one circumstance, Dr. Clarke justly remarks, of the Hindoos offering the water to the fatigued passengers, in honour of their gods, is a better illustration of our Lord's words, than all the collections of Mr. Harmer on the subject.<sup>9</sup>

It is still the proper business of the females to supply the family with water. From this drudgery, however, the married women are exempted, unless when single women are awanting. The proper time for drawing water in

<sup>9</sup> See this curious statement confirmed in Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 216.—Mr. Morier found at a fortified pass in Persia, an old Derviah living in a small cell close to the ruined gate, and refreshing the passing stranger with a cup of pure water. Trav. vol. i, p. 107.—A cup of water is given to the stranger by the benevolent, by a person appointed for that purpose at a temporary receptacle. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 216.

those burning climates, is in the morning or when the sun is going down ; then they go forth to perform that humble office adorned with their trinkets, some of which are often of great value. Agreeably to this custom Rebecca went in stead of her mother to fetch water from the well, and the servant of Abraham expected to meet an unmarried female there who might prove a suitable match for his master's son. In the East Indies, the women also draw water at the public wells, as Rebecca did, on that occasion, for travellers, their servants and their cattle ; and women of no mean rank literally illustrate the conduct of an unfortunate princess in the Jewish history, by performing the services of a menial.<sup>9</sup> The young women of Guzerat daily draw water from the wells and carry the jars upon the head ; but those of high rank carry them upon the shoulder. In the same way Rebecca carried her pitcher ; and probably for the same reason, because she was the daughter of an eastern prince.<sup>7</sup>

But the liquid on which men of all countries, and in all ages, have set the highest value, is wine. Different sorts of wines are produced in Syria and Palestine, some of which are very indifferent, and others, as the wine manufactured from the grapes of Eschol, of a very superior taste and flavour. The unrivalled excellence of the wine produced in the vineyards of Lebanon, has been described in another part of this work.<sup>8</sup> Sweet wines are much esteemed in the east, because they are grateful to

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. xiii, 8. Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 433. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 327. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 125, 126.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxiv, 45. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. i, p. 137.—Even at Nazareth Mr. Buckingham was treated with a wine of Lebanon not inferior to the best wines of France. Trav. vol. i, p. 150.



- the taste, very exhilarating, and will keep, some of them a long time. They were, therefore, preferred by those addicted to drinking, and commonly selected for the table of kings. The prophet Joel accordingly describes a state of great prosperity, by the mountains dropping down sweet wine. Their inebriating quality is alluded to by
- the prophet Isaiah in that awful threatening: "I will feed them that oppress thee, with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine." The privation of this enjoyment, is placed by the prophet Micah among the judgments which God threatened to bring upon his ancient people for their iniquity: "Thou shalt tread the vintage of sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine."<sup>a</sup> The prophet Joel uses the same word, when he threatens to cut off the new, or rather the sweet wine, from the mouth of the drunkards in Israel: "Awake ye drunkards, and weep and howl all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new (or as it should be rendered, sweet) wine, because it is cut off from your mouth."<sup>b</sup> The original term (עֲסִים) *asis*, sometimes denotes must, or the newly expressed juice of the grape, before it has undergone the vinous fermentation; but in these passages, it must denote wine, and not must; for the latter does not inebriate, but produces a very different effect. In former times, this generous and grateful liquor was appropriated to the use of kings and princes, and persons of the first distinction. The Septuagint render the phrase in the first chapter of the book of Esther, which is in our translation, "royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king," much and sweet wine, such as the king himself drank. If this idea be well founded, it suggests

<sup>a</sup> Micah vi, 15.<sup>b</sup> Joel i, 5.

a reason for the conduct of the soldiers who guarded the cross of our suffering Redeemer ; it was, perhaps, in ridicule of his claim to royal authority, that they offered him vinegar, or wine in a state of strong acidity, instead of the grateful and generous sweet wines which were presented on the table of kings and princes. Luke testifies, in express terms, that this was done in mockery ; his words are, " And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him and offering him vinegar." Medicated wine was given to Jewish criminals before their execution, to stupify them, and diminish the sense of pain ; but vinegar was offered to Jesus, in order to quicken his painful feelings, and at the same time, in derision of his kingly power.

Red wines were most esteemed in the east. So much was the red colour admired, that when it was too white they gave it a deeper tinge by mixing it with saffron or Brazil wood. By extracting the colouring matter of such ingredients, the wine may be said to make itself redder ; a circumstance which in Mr. Harmer's opinion, Solomon means to express in that proverb, " Look not on the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright."<sup>u</sup> The verb is in the Hebrew Middle Voice, or Hithpahel conjugation, which denotes an action that turns upon the agent itself, and in this instance imparts great energy to the warning.<sup>v</sup>

Artificial liquors, or mixed wines, were very common in ancient Italy, and the Levant. The Romans lined their vessels with odorous gums, to give their wines a warm bitter flavour ;<sup>w</sup> and it is said, that several nations of modern times, communicate to their wines a favourite

<sup>u</sup> Prov. xxiii, 31.

<sup>v</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 142.

<sup>w</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxiii, cap. 24.

relish by similar means.\* In Greece this is accomplished by infusing the cones of the pine in the wine vats. Hasselquist says they use the sweet scented violet in their sherbet, which they make of violet sugar dissolved in water; the grandees sometimes add ambergrease, as the highest luxury and indulgence of their appetite.† The prophet Isaiah mentions a mixture of wine and water; but it is evident from the context, that he means to express by that phrase, the degenerate state of his nation; and consequently, we cannot infer from it, the use of diluted wine in those countries. It is observed by Thevenot, that the people of the Levant never mingle water with their wine at meals, but drink by itself, what water they think proper, for abating the strength of the wine.‡ While the Greeks and Romans by mixed wine, always understood wine diluted and lowered with water;§ the Hæbrews, on the contrary, meant by it wine made stronger, and more inebriating, by the addition of powerful ingredients, as honey, spices, defrutum, or wine inspissated, by boiling it down to two thirds or one half of the quantity, myrrh, opiates, and other strong drugs. The Greeks were no strangers to perfumed and medicated wines; for in Homer, the far-famed Helen mixed a number of stupefying ingredients in the bowl, to exhilarate the spirits of her guests that were oppressed with grief; the composition of which, the poet says, she learnt in Egypt. Of the same kind was the spiced wine mentioned in the Song of Solomon; and to this day, such wines are eagerly sought by the people of Syria and Palestine. The drunkards

\* Chateaubriand's Trav. vol. i, p. 194.

† Trav. p. 254.

‡ Trav. part ii, p. 96.

§ The Greeks mixed their wine in Hesiod's time with three parts of water. Opera et Dies. l. 596.

in Israel preferred these medicated wines to all others : " Who hath woe ?" said the wise man, " who hath contentions ? who hath sorrow ? who hath babbling ? who hath wounds without cause ? who hath redness of eyes ? They that tarry long at the wine ; they that go to seek mixed wine."<sup>b</sup> Nor were the manners of that people more correct in the days of Isaiah ; for he was directed to pronounce a " woe unto them that rose up early in the morning, that they might follow *strong drink* ; that continued until night, till wine inflamed them."<sup>c</sup> This ancient custom, furnished the holy Psalmist with a highly poetical and sublime image of divine wrath : " For in the hand of the Lord --- a cup ; and the wine is red ; it is full of mixture."<sup>d</sup> The prophet Isaiah uses the same figure in one of his exhortations : " Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which has drunk at the hand of the *Lord*, the cup of his fury ; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling, and wrung them out."<sup>e</sup> The worshippers of the beast and his image, are threatened with the same fearful punishment : " The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation."<sup>f</sup> The Jews sometimes acidulated their wine with the juice of the pomegranate ; a custom to which the spouse thus alludes : " I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine, of the juice of my pomegranate ;" or of wine mixed with the juice of that fruit.<sup>g</sup> Prepared in this way, it proves a cooling

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xxiii, 29, 30.

<sup>c</sup> Isa. v, 11. When the Persians commit a debauch, they rise early, and esteem the morning the best time for beginning to drink wine, as they could carry on their excess till night. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 180.

<sup>d</sup> Psa. lxxv, 8.    <sup>e</sup> Isa. li, 17.    <sup>f</sup> Rev. xiv, 10.    <sup>g</sup> Song. viii, 2.

and refreshing draught in the heat of summer, and by consequence, highly acceptable to an oriental.

The natives of the east keep their wine in earthen jars, from which they have no method of drawing it off pure; and for this reason, it is commonly in a thick and turbid state, by the lees with which it is mixed.<sup>a</sup> To remedy this inconvenience, they filtrate or strain it through a cloth; and to this practice the prophet Isaiah plainly alludes: "And on this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people, a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow; of wines on the lees well refined." The same allusion occurs in our Lord's declaration to the Pharisees: "Ye strain at (out) a gnat, and swallow a camel."<sup>1</sup> Maimonides, in his treatise of forbidden meats, affords a remarkable illustration of our Saviour's proverbial expression: "He who strains wine, or vinegar, or strong drink, and eats the gnats, or flies, or worms, which he hath strained off, is whipped." In these hot countries, gnats were apt to fall into wine if it were not carefully covered; and passing the liquor through a strainer, that no gnat or part of one might remain, grew into a proverb for exactness about little matters.<sup>2</sup>

The abbe Mariti informs us, that it is a common practice in Cyprus, to change the vessels in which their wine is kept. This is done to improve it; and he says, nothing tends more to bring it to perfection, than to draw it off into another vessel, provided this is not done until a year after it is put into the casks. Chardin observes, "they frequently pour wine from vessel to vessel in the

<sup>a</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 197, 198; and Thevenot's Trav. part ii, p. 126.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Burder's Orient. Customs, vol. i, p. 282.

east ; for when they begin one, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels, or into bottles, or it would grow sour.”<sup>k</sup> The prophet Jeremiah alludes to this custom in the case of Moab, who had become exceedingly corrupt, during a long course of prosperity : “ Moab has been at ease from his youth, and he hath settled on his lees, and has not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither has he gone into captivity ; therefore his taste remained in him, and his scent is not changed.” The term which in our translation is rendered lees, properly means preservers, because they preserve the strength and flavour of the wine. All recent wines, after their fermentation has ceased, must be kept on their lees for a certain time, to increase their strength and flavour. When the first fermentation is deficient, they retain a richer and sweeter taste, than is natural to them in a true vinous state ; and unless further fermentation is promoted, by continuing them longer on their own lees, they never attain a proper degree of maturity, but run into repeated and ineffectual fermentations, and soon degenerate into a liquor of an acetous kind. Moab, in like manner, had been as a nation fully matured, had risen to a high degree of prosperity, and had not suffered the severe trials and calamitous revolutions, which the people of Israel had experienced ; he had not been emptied from vessel to vessel, had not gone into captivity, nor seen his dominions rent into rival kingdoms, but preserved their integrity, their population, and their resources undiminished, or in the figurative language of the prophet, “ his taste remained in him, and his scent is not changed.”<sup>l</sup>

The custom of cooling wines with snow, was usual among

<sup>k</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. ii, p. 155.

<sup>l</sup> Jer. xlviii, 11.

the eastern nations; and was derived from the Asiatics and Greeks to the Romans.<sup>m</sup> The snow of Lebanon was celebrated, in the time of d'Vitriaco for its refrigerating power in tempering their wine: "All summer, and especially in the sultry dog-days, and the month of August, snow of an extreme cold nature, is carried from mount Libanus, two or three days journey, that being mixed with wine, it may make it cold as ice. The snow is kept from melting by the heat of the sun, or the warmth of the air, by being covered up with straw."<sup>n</sup>

To this custom, the wise man seems to allude in that proverb: "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest; so is a faithful servant to them that send him, for he refreshes the soul of his masters."<sup>o</sup> The royal preacher could not speak of a fall of snow in the time of harvest, as pleasant and refreshing; it must, on the contrary, have been very incommoding, as we actually find it in this country; he must therefore be understood to mean liquids cooled by snow. The sense then will be: As the mixing of snow with wine, in the sultry time of harvest, is pleasing and refreshing; so, a successful messenger revives the spirit of his master who sent him, and who was greatly depressed from an apprehension of his failure.

The hospitality of the present day, in the east exactly resembles that of the remotest antiquity. The parable of the "great supper," is in those countries literally realised.<sup>p</sup> And such was the hospitality of ancient Greece and Rome. When a person provided an entertainment for his friends or neighbours, he sent round a number of servants to in-

<sup>m</sup> Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. i, p. 134.

<sup>n</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 156, 157.

<sup>o</sup> Prov. xxv, 13.

<sup>p</sup> Luke xiv, 16. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 187.

vite the guests; these were called vocatores by the Romans, and *παροιστοι* by the Greeks. The day when the entertainment is to be given is fixed some considerable time before; and in the evening of the day appointed, a messenger comes to bid the guests to the feast. The custom is thus introduced in Luke: "A certain man made a great supper, and bade many; and sent his servant at supper time, to say to them that were bidden, Come, for all things are now ready."<sup>1</sup> They were not now asked for the first time; but had already accepted the invitation, when the day was appointed, and were therefore already pledged to attend at the hour when they might be summoned. They were not taken unprepared, and could not in consistency and decency plead any prior engagement. They could not now refuse, without violating their word and insulting the master of the feast, and therefore, justly subjected themselves to punishment. The terms of the parable exactly accord with established custom, and contain nothing of the harshness to which infidels object.

The Jews did not always follow the same method; sometimes they sent a number of servants different ways among the friends they meant to invite; and at other times, a single male domestic.<sup>2</sup> But in Egypt, according to Hasselquist, a different custom from either of these, was commonly followed. A number of women went about, inviting people to a banquet. Those whom he saw thus employed, were about ten or twelve in number, covered with black veils, according to the custom of that country. They were preceded by four eunuchs; after them and on the side, were Moors with their usual walking staves. As they walked, they all joined in making a noise, which

<sup>1</sup> Luke xiv, 16, 17. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xxiii, 2; and Luke xiv, 17.



he was told they meant as an expression of joy, but which had nothing joyful or even pleasing in his ear.\* The royal preacher seems to allude to this singular custom in these words : wisdom hath "sent forth her maidens," she "crieth upon the highest places of the city."† In this passage, the invitation is given by a number of female servants, as in Egypt; and it was not a private message, but a kind of public proclamation, in which the table is represented as furnished, and every preparation made : "Who-so is simple, let him turn in hither; as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled."‡

The Persians send a deputation to meet their guests : this deputation are called openers of the way; and the more distinguished the persons sent, and the greater the distance to which they go, so much greater is the honour. So it is proclaimed; "Go forth and behold king Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him. The bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him."

The names of the persons to be invited, were inscribed upon tablets, and the gate was set open to receive those who had obtained them; but to prevent any getting in that had no ticket, only one leaf of the door was left open; and that was strictly guarded by the servants of the family. Those who were admitted, had to go along a narrow passage to the room; and after all who had received tickets of admission were assembled, the master of the house rose and shut to the door; and then the entertainment began.¶

The Greeks also issued tickets of admission to their en-

\* Trav. p. 56.

† Prov. ix, 1, &c.

‡ Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 128.

¶ Ibid. p. 142. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 365, *et seq.*

tertainments, although relations often went without invitation ; thus in Homer, the valiant Menelaus went to an entertainment in Agamemnon's tent, without being invited :

*Ανταμείβεις δὲ αἱ πολλὰ βουὴν ἀγανὸς Μενέλαος.* *Il. lib. ii, l. 408.*

It appears from this statement, that the Jews were much stricter in admitting persons to their tables than the Greeks, although both used the formality of written invitations. Our Lord evidently refers to the custom of his own nation, in his answer to one who idly inquired, Are there few that be saved? " Strive," said he, " to enter in at the strait gate ; for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us : and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are."<sup>w</sup>

The first ceremony, after the guests arrived at the house of entertainment, was the salutation performed by the master of the house, or one appointed in his place. Among the Greeks, this was sometimes done by embracing with arms around ; but the most common salutation was by the conjunction of their right hands, the right hand being reckoned a pledge of fidelity and friendship. Sometimes they kissed the lips, hands, knees, or feet, as the person deserved more or less respect.<sup>x</sup> The Jews welcomed a stranger to their house in the same way ; for our Lord complains to Simon, that he had given him no kiss ; had welcomed him to his table with none of the accustomed tokens of respect.<sup>y</sup>

In Hindostan, when a person of rank and opulence receives a guest, whom he wishes to distinguish by peculiar

<sup>w</sup> Luke xiii, 24.

<sup>x</sup> *Odyss. lib. xxi, l. 223, 224.*

<sup>y</sup> *Matth. vii, 44.*

marks of regard, he pours upon his hands and arms; in the presence of the whole company, a delightful odoriferous perfume, puts a golden cup into his hand, and pours wine into it till it run over; assuring him at the same time, that it is to him a great pleasure to receive him into his house, and that he shall find under his roof every comfort which he could bestow.<sup>a</sup> The reference to this custom, which at one time was probably general throughout the east, in the twenty-third Psalm, is at once beautiful and striking: "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest mine head with oil, my cup runneth over." The Lord had early received the Psalmist into favour; raised him to the highest honours from a very humble condition; and, what was infinitely better, he set before him the inestimable blessings of redeeming love, prepared him by a copious unction of the holy Spirit to enjoy them, and welcomed him in the most honourable manner, by putting the cup of salvation into his hand, in the presence of all his people, and pouring into it with unsparing liberality, the wine of heavenly consolation.<sup>b</sup>

The ancient Greeks and Romans sat at meals.<sup>c</sup> Homer's heroes were ranged on separate seats along the wall, with a small table before each, on which the meat and drink were placed.<sup>d</sup> This custom is still observed in

<sup>a</sup> Memoirs of Captain Wilson, p. 80.

<sup>b</sup> The flat roof of the house is often used, in the east, as the drawing-room in which they receive company, till supper is ready. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 82.

<sup>c</sup> Æneid. lib. vii, l. 176.

<sup>d</sup> Odyssey, lib. xvii, l. 447. Σενθ υως ις ρισον, ιμς ικανως τετραχης. From these words, which the poet puts into the mouth of Antinous, the custom of every one in company eating by himself seems to be clearly ascertained. See also lib. xx, l. 250.

China, and perhaps some other parts of the greater Asia. When Ulysses arrived at the palace of Alcinous, the king displaced his son Laodamas, in order to seat Ulysses in a magnificent chair.<sup>o</sup> The same posture was preferred by the Egyptians and the ancient Israelites. But, afterwards, when men became soft and effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds, in order to drink with more ease; yet even then, the heroes who drank sitting were still thought entitled to praise; and those who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe way of living, retained the ancient posture. This was done by the cynic philosophers, as we learn from Plautus :

—— “ *potius in subœllis*

*Cynice accipiamus, quam in lectis.*”

The custom of reclining was introduced from the nations of the east, and particularly from Persia, where it seems to have been adopted at a very remote period. The Old Testament Scriptures allude to both customs : but they furnish undeniable proofs of the sitting posture, long before common authors took notice of the other. It was the custom in Isaac's family to sit at meat; for Jacob thus addressed his aged father : “ Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me.”<sup>f</sup> At the entertainment which Joseph gave his brethren, on their return to Egypt, they seem to have followed the custom of their fathers ; for “ they sat before him, the first-born according to his birth-right, and the youngest according to his youth.”<sup>g</sup> In the court of Saul, many ages after this, Abner sat at table by his master's side ; and David also had his place allotted to him, which is emphatically

<sup>o</sup> *Iliad*, lib. ix, l. 220. *Odyssey*, lib. i, l. 3 ; lib. vii et viii.

<sup>f</sup> *Gen.* xxvii, 19.

<sup>g</sup> *Ch. xliii*, 33.

called his seat. As this is undoubtedly the most natural and dignified posture, so it seems to have been universally adopted by the first generations of men ; and it was not till after the lapse of many ages, and degenerate man had lost much of the firmness of his primitive character, that he began to lie flat upon his belly.

The tables were constructed of three different parts or separate tables, making but one in the whole. One was placed at the upper end crossways, and the two others joined to its ends, one on each side, so as to leave an open space between, by which the attendants could readily wait at all the three. Round these tables were placed beds or couches, one to each table ; each of these beds was called *clinium* ; and three of these being united, to surround the three tables, made the *triclinium*. At the end of each *clinium* was a footstool, for the convenience of mounting up to it. These beds were formed of mattresses, and supported on frames of wood, often highly ornamented ; the mattresses were covered with cloth or tapestry, according to the quality of the entertainer. At the splendid feast which Ahasuerus made for the nobles of his kingdom, beds of silver and gold were placed round the tables ; according to a custom in the east of naming a thing from its principal ornament ; these must have been couches profusely ornamented with the precious metals. To this day, the cushions in the hall of audience, and also in the room for receiving guests in private houses, are placed round the carpet in cases of gold and silver kincol, or of scarlet cloth embroidered : these are occasionally moved into the courts and gardens and placed under the canopy for the accommodation of company.<sup>b</sup> Each guest inclined the su-

<sup>b</sup> Esth. i, 5, 6. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 192.

terior part of his body upon his left arm, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; his head was raised up, and his back sometimes supported with pillows. If several persons lay upon the same bed, then the first lay on the uppermost part, with his legs stretched out behind the second person's back; the second person's head lay below the bosom of the former, his feet being placed behind the third person's back; and the rest in like manner: for though it was accounted mean or sordid at Rome to place more than three or four upon one bed, yet, as we are informed by Cicero, the Greeks used to crowd five, and often a greater number, into the same bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the bosoms of those that loved them: the fact is thus attested by Juvenal:

"Cena sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti." *Sat. ii, l. 120.*

And for the same reason, according to the well-known custom, the beloved disciple lay in the bosom of his Lord, at the celebration of the passover. The head of the second being opposite to the bosom of the first, if he wanted to speak to him, especially if the thing was to be secret, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom: thus the apostle John, wishing to speak secretly to his Lord, leaned from necessity upon his bosom.<sup>1</sup> In conversation, those who spoke, raised themselves almost upright, supported by cushions. When they ate, they raised themselves on their elbow, and made use of the right hand;<sup>2</sup> which is the reason our Lord mentions the hand of Judas in the singular number; "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me."<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the Greeks and Romans used both hands, to which practice, the

<sup>1</sup> John xiii, 23. Potter's *Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 377. Plin. *Epist.* iv, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, *Ode i, l. 27.*

<sup>3</sup> Matth. xxvi, 23.

*manus unctæ* of Horace refers ;<sup>1</sup> but if the custom existed among the Jews, the right hand was commonly used ; or at the time when our Lord made that declaration, he and his disciples were using only their right hands.

At a Grecian entertainment, it was customary to place the guests according to their quality ; in Homer, the chief persons had the uppermost seats ; and in succeeding ages, a person was appointed that bore the name of (*σποριακλήτωρ*,) nomenclator, whose business it was to call every guest by name to his proper place. In the heroic ages, they seem to have been placed in long ranks, and the chief persons at the head of each rank, on both sides of the table. Thus, when Achilles entertained Agamemnon's ambassadors, he placed himself uppermost in one rank, and Ulysses, as the principal ambassador, in the other :<sup>2</sup>

———— ἀπὸς κρητὶς ἑμὴν Ἀχιλλεύς,

Αὐτὸς δ' ἄντιος ἔξω Ὀδυσσεύς Δίῳ, &c. *Il.* lib. ix, l. 217, 218.

When a Persian comes into an assembly, and has saluted the house, he then measures with his eye the degree of rank to which he holds himself entitled ; he straightway wedges himself into the line of guests, without offering any apology for the general disturbance which he produces. It often happens that persons take a higher seat than that to which they are entitled. The Persian scribes are remarkable for their arrogance in this respect, in which they seem to bear a striking resemblance to the Jews of the same profession in the days of our Lord.<sup>3</sup> The master of the

<sup>1</sup> Epist. i, 16, 23.—“ Seid Ali,” says Mr. Martyn, “ while burying his hand in the dish with the Professor, softly mentioned some more of my objections.” Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, lib. iii, l. 389, 469.

<sup>3</sup> *Mark* ix, 39.

entertainment has, however, the privilege of placing any one as high in the rank of the assembly as he may choose. And Mr. Morier saw an instance of it at a public entertainment to which he was invited. When the assembly was nearly full, the governor of Kashan, a man of humble mein, although of considerable rank, came in and seated himself at the lowest place; when the master of the house, after numerous expressions of welcome, pointed with his hand to an upper seat in the assembly, to which he desired him to move, and which he accordingly did. These circumstances furnish a beautiful and striking illustration of the parable which our Lord uttered when he saw how those that were invited, chose the highest places.\*

Some who affected a more free and easy way of living, disregarded the usual custom, and desired every man to take the place which pleased him best; but this licence often failed to produce the sociality and good humour which the entertainer expected, and occasioned disputes among the company, about what were reckoned the most honourable seats. So the proud and ambitious Pharisees acted in the time of our Lord, which drew from his lips that pointed reproof: "They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues."<sup>p</sup> The master of the family sometimes acted the part of nomenclator among the Jews, assigning to every one his proper place; for when our Lord, at a public entertainment, "marked how they chose out the chief rooms," he put forth a parable to those that were bidden, saying unto them, "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room, lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that had thee

\* Luke xiv, 8-11.

<sup>p</sup> Matth. xxiii, 6.



and him, come and say to thee, Give this man place, and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room."<sup>1</sup> Eustathius says it was a very ancient custom at Lacedæmon, for the eldest person to go before the rest, to the couches at the common hall, unless the king gave the precedence to another, by calling him first. This custom may be traced to a very remote origin; for thus Joseph arranged his brethren, according to their age, in a row, on one side of the table; while the Egyptians sat under him, according to their rank or years, on the other: "And they sat before him, the first-born according to his birth-right, and the youngest according to his youth; and the men marvelled one at another."<sup>2</sup> They did not marvel that they were seated according to their age, for this appears to have been the established custom even in that remote period; but how Pharaoh's prime minister knew their respective ages, who, in their opinion, was an utter stranger to their history.<sup>3</sup>

Before the Greeks went to an entertainment, they washed and anointed themselves; for it was thought very indecent to appear on such an occasion, defiled with sweat and dust; but they who came off a journey, were washed and clothed with suitable apparel in the house of the entertainer, before they were admitted to the feast. When Telemachus and Pisistratus arrived at the palace of Menelaus, in the course of their wanderings, they were immediately supplied with water to wash, and with oil to anoint themselves, before they took their seats by the side of the king.

*Εἰ γενομένης βασις ὑλίου λουάντο, &c.* *Odys.* lib. iv, l. 48.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xiv, 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xliii, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 377, 378.

The oil used on such occasions, in the palaces of nobles and princes, was perfumed with roses and other odoriferous herbs. They also washed their hands before they sat down to meat.<sup>a</sup> To these customary marks of respect, to which a traveller, or one who had no house of his own, was entitled, our Lord alludes in his defence of Mary: "And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house; thou gavest me no water for my feet, but she hath washed my feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss; but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment."<sup>r</sup> Homer mentions it as a custom quite common in those days for daughters to wash and

<sup>a</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 369, 370. Odyss. lib. i, l. 146.—The heralds poured water on the hands of the guests. Lib. x, l. 450; lib. xxi, l. 270. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 439. Homer's Iliad, lib. x, l. 575; lib. xxiv, l. 465.

<sup>r</sup> Luke vii, 44.—The Jews possessed a native balsam so precious that it sold for double its weight in silver. The tree which produced it, according to Pliny and Strabo, was peculiar to the vale of Jericho, and was more like a vine than a myrtle. Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. iv, cap. 14. Joseph. Wars, b. i, cap. 7, sec. 6.—It bears a resemblance to the fir, but it is lower, and is planted and cultivated like the vine. At a certain season of the year it sweats balsam; but it is often necessary to cut the young shoots with sharp stones, and gather at the incisions the juice, which drops down like tears. When Alexander of Macedon was at Jericho, a spoonful of the balm was all that could be collected on a summer's day; and in the most plentiful year, the great royal park of these trees yielded only six gallons, and the smaller one only one gallon. The juice is tenacious, and very like milk; but when received in shells it coagulates. Strabo says it gives wonderful relief in headaches, incipient suffusions of the eyes, and dimness of sight. Strabo, lib. xvi, p. 763.—"At the present time," says Buckingham, "there is not a tree of any description, either of palm or balsam, and scarcely any verdure or bushes, to be seen about the site of this abandoned city." Trav. vol. ii, p. 70.

afterwards to anoint the feet of their parents.\* The Saviour was in the circumstances of a traveller; he had no home to wash and anoint himself in, before he went to Simon's house, and therefore, had a right to complain that his entertainer had failed in the respect that was due to him as a stranger, at a distance from the usual place of his residence.

The Jews regularly washed their hands and their feet before dinner; they considered this ceremony as essential, which discovers the reason of their astonishment, when they observed the disciples of Christ sit down at table without having observed this ceremony: "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread."<sup>a</sup> After meals, they wash them again; for, says the evangelist, "the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders."<sup>a</sup> When they washed their hands themselves, they plunged them into the water up to the wrists; but when others performed this office for them, it was done by pouring it upon their hands.<sup>v</sup> The same custom prevailed in Greece, for Homer says the attendants poured water on the hands of their chiefs:

*Αυτῶν ἀνέθηκεν πρὸς ὅδωρ τῶν χερσὶν ἑχέμενος.* *Il. lib. ix, l. 174.*

This was a part of the service which Elisha performed for his master Elijah; and in every instance under the law, where water was applied to the body by another, it was done, not by plunging, but by pouring or sprinkling. The

\* *Iliad*, lib. x, l. 577.

<sup>a</sup> *Matth.* xv, 2.

<sup>a</sup> *Mark* vii, 8, 4.

<sup>v</sup> The Hindoos observe the same custom still; one servant holds the bason, another pours the water upon the master's hands and those of his guests, and a third offers a clean napkin. *Forbes's Orient. Mem.* vol. ii, p. 397.—It is also the uniform practice in Persia. *Hanway's Trav.* part iii, ch. 33, vol. i, p. 151.

ancient Romans also washed before meals; and at public entertainments the attendants supplied the guests with water for their hands:

“*Dant famuli manibus lymphas.*” *Æn.* lib. i, l. 700.

According to Virgil's arrangement, this ablution was performed after the guests had taken their places on the purple beds. The feet were washed by their servants or wives; and in order to this, they put off their shoes or sandals before they sat down to meat; and it is probable, they did not resume them till they had finished their meal, and were preparing to leave the apartment.

In Greece, they seemed to have followed the same rule; and their feet being most exposed, were oftener washed and anointed than other parts of the body; the ablution was generally performed by women, both in the heroic and in later ages. To wash the feet was a mean and servile office, and therefore, generally performed by the female servants of the family. Thus Ulysses declares to Penelope that it was by no means agreeable to him to have his feet washed; and that not one of her female servants should touch his foot:

——— οὐδὲ γὰρ ποδὲς ἀψίεται ἡμεῖσι

Ταῦτ', αἰ τοῦδε κατὰ δαΐφρονος ἔμεν. *Odys.* lib. xix, l. 344, 345.

It was occasionally performed, however, by females of the highest rank; for the daughter of Cleobulus, one of the Grecian sages, and king of Lindus, a city on the south-east part of Rhodes, was not ashamed to wash the feet of her father's guests.\* And it was customary for them to kiss the feet of those to whom they thought a more than common respect was due; for the daughter of Philocleon, in Aristophanes, washed her father, anointed his feet, and stooping down, kissed them:

\* *Clémentis Alexandrini, Strom.* iv, 19.

— και πρῶτα μου δοξασης με  
 Αποσιζη και το ποδ' αλυφη και προσκυνησας φιλησθ. *Vespis.* p. 473.

Thus Mary acted strictly according to established custom, when at a public entertainment she performed these offices to her Saviour.

The feet of kings and princes in some parts of the east were washed in basons of pure gold. Herodotus informs us that Amasis an Egyptian king had a golden bason in which he and all his guests constantly washed their feet.<sup>a</sup> Persons of inferior station used vessels of silver, earthenware, or wood, according to their wealth. The lower classes among the Jews contented themselves with the last of these, (עֲרִיבֵי) which were of an oblong shape, in which they commonly washed their household utensils. Such it is probable, from all the circumstances stated by the apostle John, was the bason employed by our Lord, when by an act of singular and amazing condescension, he washed the feet of his disciples.

The towel which was used to wipe the feet after washing, was considered through all the east, as a badge of servitude. Suetonius mentions it as a sure mark of the intolerable pride of Caligula, the Roman emperor, that when at supper he suffered senators of the highest rank, sometimes to stand by his couch, sometimes at his feet, girt with a towel.<sup>b</sup> Hence, it appears that this honour was a token of the deepest humiliation, which was not, however, absolutely degrading and inconsistent with all regard to decency. Yet our blessed Redeemer did not refuse to give his disciples and Judas Iscariot himself, that wonderful proof of his love and humility. On the very night in which he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, while his thoughts were intensely occupied with

<sup>a</sup> *Eib.* ii. cap. 172.

<sup>b</sup> *C.* 26.

the glory which he had with his Father before the creation of the world, to which he knew well he was in a few days to return, triumphant over all his foes, he resolved to neglect no service which might soften the heart of Judas, and confirm and encourage his other disciples in their duty ; he condescended to stoop down and wash those feet which had followed him in many a long and fatiguing journey, giving his faithful followers in that significant action, a pledge of the high honour which awaited them, and the pure and elevated joy which was to cheer their hearts in his service, and crown their labours after they had finished their appointed course.

The example of humility which he set them on this occasion was absolutely incomparable : no instance ever occurred among the Jews of a lord or master washing the feet of his servants or disciples. Besides, the son of God was not ignorant that the Father had committed all things into his hands ; and that a name was soon to be given him, at which every knee should bow, and every tongue confess. Yet he did not hesitate to wash the feet of his own servants ; proving by this very act, that he “ came not to minister unto, but to minister.” Nor did he humble himself to the hosts of heaven ; but to sinful and miserable men, and even to his most atrocious betrayer. “ Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God ; he riseth from supper, and laid aside his (upper) garments ; and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples’ feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.”

° John xiii, 3-5.

The Romans always began their feasts with prayers and libations to their gods; the same custom, the relic of a pure religion, was invariably observed among the Greeks; so great was their sense of a Divine Providence, to whom they were indebted for every blessing, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a part of their provision as a sort of first fruits to the gods. This custom was so religiously observed in the heroic ages, that Achilles, though disturbed by the ambassadors of Agamemnon at midnight, refused to taste food till an oblation was offered:

——— Θιαισι δι' θυσας αρωγει.

Πατρουλως εν τειραις, ιδ' εν πυρι βαλλει θυηλας. Lib. ix, l. 220.

And Ulysses, and his fellow-soldiers, were not unmindful of this duty even in the den of Polyphemus:

Ευδαδε συρ κευθης ιδυσσαςιν, ηδε και αυτου

Τυφου αιτωμαται θωγαμην.

*Odys.* lib. ix, l. 231.<sup>d</sup>

The Romans too ended their repasts in the same manner as they began them, by libations and prayers. To neglect this act of homage was accounted a very great impiety, of which none but Epicurus, and those who worshipped no gods at all, would be guilty.\* Among the ancient Hebrews the master of the family, or chief person in the company, always began the meal with a solemn blessing on the bread and the wine, and then they repeated the twenty-third psalm. They took care that after meals there should be a piece of bread remaining on the table. The master of the house ordered a glass to be washed, filled it with wine, and elevating it, said, Let us bless him of whose benefits we have been partaking;

<sup>d</sup> See also lib. iii, l. 43, 55.

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 382, 400. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 459.

the rest answer, Blessed be he who has heaped his favours on us, and by his goodness has now fed us. Thus both Jews and heathens at their meals—the former both before and after, the latter always before and sometimes after—acknowledge the great Source of all good ; it is reserved for countless numbers that bear the Christian name, to neglect or condemn the reasonable service.<sup>f</sup>

Public entertainments in the east, are not all conducted in the same way. At Aleppo, the several dishes are brought in one by one ; and after the company has eaten a little of each, they are removed ;<sup>h</sup> but among the Arabs, the whole provisions are set on the table at once. In Persia, where the last custom is followed, the viands are distributed by a domestic, who takes portions of different kinds out of the large dishes in which they are served up, and lays four or five different kinds of meat in one smaller dish ; these are set, furnished after this manner, before the company ; one of these smaller dishes being placed before two persons only, or at most three. The same practice obtains at the royal table itself. It is not improbable that the ancient Egyptians treated their guests in a similar way ; and in the entertainment given by Joseph to his brethren, we may discover many points of resemblance. The Persians were placed in a row on one side of the room, without any person before them ; a distinct dish, with different kinds of food, was set before every guest ; circumstances which entirely correspond with the arrangement of Joseph's entertainment.

The great men of the state are always by themselves,

<sup>f</sup> *Odyssey*, lib. iii, l. 330–344.

<sup>g</sup> The Arabs uniformly follow the same becoming practice. *Shaw's Trav.* vol. i, p. 419.

<sup>h</sup> *Russel's Hist.* vol. i, p. 173.



in the feasts that are made for them, and they are treated with greater profusion ; their part of each kind of provision being always double, triple, or a larger proportion of each kind of meat.<sup>1</sup> In Greece, those guests that were entitled to particular respect, or for whom the entertainer felt a more than ordinary regard, were helped to the best parts, and very often to a larger share than the rest of the company. Thus in the *Odyssey*, Eumæus gives the chine, which they esteemed the chief part, to Ulysses;<sup>2</sup> and Agamemnon, in the *Iliad*, gives the same part to Ajax, as a reward for his services in the war.<sup>3</sup> And Sarpedon, one of the Lycian kings, is honoured with the first seat, the best share of meat, and full cups :

*Εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅς τις πλεονεξία διακρίσσει.* *Il. lib. xii, l. 311.*

This will enable us to form a more distinct and correct idea of the arrangements at the feast which Joseph made for his brethren : “ They set on” provision “ for him,” as being at the head of the government, “ by himself ; and for them by themselves ; and for the Egyptians that did eat with him by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians,” as it is in modern times among the Persians, Arabians, and Hindoos, to eat with strangers ; “ and they sat before him,” Joseph at the upper end of the hall, his brethren at the bottom, and the Egyptians by the sides, or as formerly remarked, the Hebrews on one side of the hall, and the Egyptians on the other. As a mark of his hospitality, and a token of his regard, “ he took and sent messes unto them from before him ; but

<sup>1</sup> Forbes's *Orient. Mem.* vol. iii, p. 189. *Potter's Grecian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. xiv, l. 436.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. vii, l. 321.* See also *Odyssey*, lib. viii, l. 475.

Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs," that is, he had five times as much of every thing as any of his brethren.\* He seems to have distributed to every man his portion, or commanded what should be set before them; a custom which was probably general in Egypt, and which still maintains its ground at oriental entertainments.<sup>1</sup> We discover evident traces of it in the conduct of Samuel to the son of Kish: "And Samuel said unto the cook, Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, set it by thee. And the cook took up the shoulder, and that which was upon it, and set it before Saul."<sup>m</sup>

At public entertainments in the courts of eastern kings, many of their nobles have a right to a seat, others are admitted occasionally by special favour. In this sense Chardin understands the dying charge of David to his successor, to shew kindness to the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and to let them be of those that should eat at his table. He means not that they should eat at his table at every meal, or on every day, but only on days of public festivity. In the same light, he views the conduct of the king of Babylon to the captive monarch of Judah: "Evil-Merodach spake kindly to Jehoiakim, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon; and changed his prison garments, and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life."<sup>n</sup> He received a daily allowance from the king suitable to his high station, and the value which Evil-Merodach had for him; besides this, he had a seat at all the public entertainments of the court.<sup>o</sup> The eastern custom explains

\* Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 100-105.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. ix, 23, 24.

<sup>1</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 187.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Kings xxv, 26.

<sup>o</sup> This custom is still followed in the Persian court, where princes of high

the reason that David was not expected at Saul's table, till the day of the new moon ; he did not sit at the king's table every day, but according to established usage, he had a right, and was expected to be present in his allotted seat on the day of a public and solemn festival. In the same manner, though Mephibosheth was to sit at David's table on all public occasions, yet he wanted the produce of his lands for food at other times.

It was therefore very proper to mention the circumstances to Ziba, that he might understand it would be necessary for him to bring the produce of the lands to Jerusalem, and in sufficient quantity to support Mephibosheth in a style suitable to the dignity of one who had a right by the royal grant, to appear at court, and sit at the king's table on public occasions : " Thou, therefore, and thy sons, and thy servants, shall till the land for him ; and thou shalt bring in the fruits, that thy master's son may have foot to eat ; but Mephibosheth thy master's son shall eat bread always at my table."<sup>p</sup>

The Jewish people, degenerating by degrees into luxurious and expensive habits, displayed towards the close of their national state, great magnificence in their feasts and public entertainments. The prophet Amos was directed to lift his warning voice against their criminal profusion, in these pointed terms : " Woe to them that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of

rank, although needy and without power, are always treated with great respect. They receive a daily allowance from the king, as Jehoiakim did ; and they obtain a high rank in society, as the same monarch did in the court of the king of Babylon. " This," says Mr. Morier, " is in the true spirit of Asiatic hospitality." Trav. vol. i, p. 143.

<sup>p</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 105, 106. 2 Sam. ix, 11.

the midst of the stall, that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."<sup>1</sup>

No person in Greece and Italy appeared at an entertainment in black, because it was a colour reserved for times of mourning; but always in white, or some other cheerful colour, which corresponded with the joyous nature of the occasion.<sup>2</sup> Such were the garments of salvation in which the people of Israel celebrated their festivals, or entertained their friends. When Solomon brought up the ark of the Lord from the city of David, and placed it between the cherubim in the most holy place, the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and Jeduthun, and their brethren, who conducted the songs in the temple, stood at the east end of the altar, arrayed in vestures of fine linen, the chosen emblem of purity and joy.<sup>3</sup> The few faithful witnesses that remained in Sardis, and had not defiled their garments, were promised the distinguishing honour of walking with their Saviour in white.<sup>4</sup> And to encourage them in their steadfast adherence to the cause of God and truth, it is added, "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment." On the mount of transfiguration, the raiment of Christ became white as the light; and in the same garb of joy and gladness the angels appear at his resurrection.<sup>5</sup>

While the entertainment was going on, the master of the family, to shew his respect for the company, and to

<sup>1</sup> Amos vi, 4, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 383. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. v, 12. <sup>4</sup> Rev. iii, 4. <sup>5</sup> Matth. xvii, 2. Mark xvi, 5.

prevent the hurtful consequences of indulgence, caused the servants in attendance anoint their heads with precious unguents, and perfume the room by burning myrrh, frankincense, and other odours. This usage was quite common in ancient Greece, and from thence was imported into Italy, where it was prized exceedingly by the luxurious Romans; for an abundant store of the sweetest incense is among the highest wishes that Virgil can form for the lover of Pollio:

“ Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet :

Mella fiant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.” Ecl. iii, l. 133.

And its origin is indicated with sufficient clearness by Pliny,<sup>v</sup> who informs us, that his countrymen used balsam from Judea at their public entertainments.” Hence the act of Mary, in anointing the head of her Lord, as he sat at meat in the house of Simon, was agreeable to the established custom of the country, and she did no more on that occasion than what the rules of politeness required from his entertainer. It was at once a signal testimony of her veneration for the Saviour, and a pointed reproof to Simon for his disrespectful omission. “ As Jesus sat at meat, there came a woman, having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard (or liquid nard, according to the margin) very precious, and she brake the box and poured it on his head.”<sup>x</sup> The balsam was contained in a box of alabaster, whose mouth was stopped with cotton, upon which melted wax was poured so as effectually to exclude the air. When Mary approached to anoint her Lord, she brake the cement which secured the stopple, not the box itself, for this was quite unnecessary; and we know

<sup>v</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. xxiii, cap. 47.

<sup>w</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 385.

<sup>x</sup> Mark xiv, 3.

that, in the language of the east, the opening of a vessel, by breaking the cement that secured it, was called breaking the vessel.<sup>7</sup>

The entertainment was conducted by a symposiarch, or governor of the feast. He was, says Plutarch, one chosen among the guests, the most pleasant and diverting in the company, that would not get drunk, and yet would drink freely ; he was to rule over the rest, to forbid any disorder, but to encourage their mirth. He observed the temper of the guests, and how the wine worked upon them ; how every one could bear his wine, and to endeavour accordingly to keep them all in harmony, and in an even composure, that there might be no disquiet nor disturbance. To do this effectually, he first proclaimed liberty to every one to drink what he thought proper, and then observing who among them was most ready to be disordered, mixed more water with his wine, to keep him equally sober with the rest of the company ; so that this officer took care that none should be forced to drink, and that none, though left to their own choice, should get intoxicated.<sup>8</sup> Such, we have reason to believe, was the governor of the feast at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, which our Lord honoured with his presence. The term *Ἀρχιτεκελιος* literally signifies the governor of a place furnished with three beds ; and he acted as one having authority ; for he tasted the wine before he distributed it to the company, which, it is universally admitted, was one of the duties of a symposiarch. Neither the name nor the act accords with the character and situation of a guest ; he must, therefore, have been the symposiarch, or governor

<sup>7</sup> See Burder's *Orient. Cust.* vol. i, p. 282.

<sup>8</sup> Potter's *Gr. Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 386. Adam's *Rom. Antiq.* p. 456.

of the feast. It is admitted he knew not the wine was gone, and that they were at a loss for more; but this only proves that he was not so fully acquainted with the state of matters as he ought to have been, and as such persons commonly were; and, besides, it is easy to discern a secret arrangement of divine Providence, by which the governor of the feast was, in this instance, ignorant of one thing belonging to his office, that the miracle might be attested by an unexceptionable witness, and on his authority made known to the whole company.<sup>a</sup> But the existence of such an officer among the Jews, is placed beyond a doubt by a passage in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, where his office is thus described: "If thou be made the master of a feast, lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest; take diligent care of them, and so sit down. And when thou hast done all thine office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for the well ordering of the feast."<sup>b</sup>

On this passage, Theophylact remarks, that no one might suspect that their taste was vitiated by having drank to excess, so as not to know water from wine, our Saviour orders it to be first carried to the governor of the feast, who certainly was sober; for those who, on such occasions, are entrusted with this office, observe the strictest sobriety, that they may be able properly to regulate the whole.<sup>c</sup>

The same person was called *Amilper* by the Greeks, and *Direbitor* among the Romans, because it belonged to him to divide and distribute to every guest his portion. In primitive times, the master of the feast carved for all his

<sup>a</sup> John ii, 8, 9.

<sup>b</sup> Ecclesiast. xxxii, 1.

<sup>c</sup> Burder's Orient. Customs, vol. i, p. 324.

guests; for in Homer, when Agamemnon's ambassadors were entertained at the table of Achilles, this hero distributed to every one his portion :

——— *αὐτὰρ πρῶτα τιμὴν Ἀχιλλεύς.*

*Il. lib. ix, l. 217.*

In later times the same office was performed by some of the chief men at Sparta, as appears from the example of Lysander, who was deputed to it by Agesilaus. The custom of distributing to every man his share, is derived by some from the ages when the Greeks left off their ancient way of living upon acorns, and learned the use of corn, which being at first very scarce, gave occasion to continual quarrels. To prevent these disorders, it was agreed that a person should be named, to make a fair division of the harvest among the inhabitants. But it is more probable that the founders of the Grecian states brought the custom along with them from Asia; for Solomon certainly alluded to it in his description of a virtuous woman: "She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens."<sup>d</sup>

Some of the eastern nations drink their wine after meat, but others before, which accounts for the difference of language among the inspired writers on this subject. The inhabitants of Syria and Canaan reserved their wine till the feast was over; which seems also to have been the custom in Egypt; for when Joseph entertained his brethren, he "took and sent messes of victuals from before him;" and after they had dined, and not till then, "they drank and were merry with him." Among the Romans, the wine was not set down till after the first course. Thus, when Dido gave a public entertainment to the pious

<sup>d</sup> Prov. xxxi, 15. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 387, 388.



*Æneas*, "as soon as the first banquet ended, and the tables were withdrawn, they place large goblets and crown the sparkling wine."

"Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ  
Crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant." *Æn.* i, l. 723.

A different custom, however, prevailed in Persia, where the time for drinking wine was at the beginning, not at the close of the entertainment. *Olearius* thus describes a solemn banquet at the Persian court: "The floor of the hall was covered with a cotton cloth, which was covered with all sorts of fruits and sweatmeats in basons of gold. With them was served up excellent Shiras wine. After an hour's time the sweatmeats were removed, to make way for the more substantial part of the entertainment, such as rice, boiled and roasted mutton, &c. After having been at table an hour and a half, warm water was brought in an ewer of gold for washing; and grace being said, they began to retire without speaking a word, according to the custom of the country." It is probably to the same people that *Chardin* refers in his observations on the banquet which *Esther* prepared for the king and *Haman*: the eastern people drink and discourse before eating; and after the rest is served up, the feast is quickly over, as they eat very fast, and every one presently withdraws. It was, perhaps, for this reason the entertainment given by *Esther* is called, not a feast, but uniformly a banquet of wine; because wine was the first course at the table of a Persian monarch, and occupied a much larger portion of time than all the others. They sat, according to *Olearius*, an hour at this wine; but only half an hour at the more substantial part of the feast.\*

\* *Harmer's Observ* vol. ii, p. 152.

The oriental banquet, in consequence of the intense heat, is often spread upon the verdant turf, beneath the shade of a tree, where the streaming rivulet supplies the company with wholesome water, and excites a gentle breeze to cool their burning temples. The vine and the fig, it appears from the faithful page of inspiration, are preferred on such joyous occasions: "In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig-tree."<sup>f</sup> To fountains, or rivers, says Dr. Chandler, the Turks and the Greeks frequently repair for refreshment, especially the latter on their festivals, when whole families are seen sitting on the grass, and enjoying their early or evening repast, beneath the trees by the side of a rill.<sup>g</sup> And we are assured by the same author, that in such grateful retreats they often give public entertainments. He visited an assembly of Greeks, who, after celebrating a religious festival, were sitting under half tents, with store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provisions. Such appears to have been the feast which Adonijah gave his friends at Enrogel.<sup>h</sup> It was held near a well or fountain of water, and there "he slew sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle, and invited his brethren" and the principal people of the kingdom. Enrogel was not chosen for secrecy, for it was in the vicinity of the royal city, but for the beauty of the surrounding scenery. It was not a magnificent cold collation; the animals on which they feasted were, on the contrary, killed and dressed on the spot for this princely re-

<sup>f</sup> Zech. iii, 10.

<sup>g</sup> Trav. p. 21. See, in confirmation of this very ancient custom, Hesiod. Opera et Dies. l. 589, 593. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 195.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Kings i, 9.

past. In Hindostan feasts are <sup>as</sup> given in the open halls and gardens, where a variety of strangers are admitted; and much familiarity is allowed. This easily accounts for a circumstance in the history of Christ which is attended with considerable difficulty; the penitent Mary coming into the apartment and anointing his feet with the ointment, and wiping them with the hairs of her head. This familiarity is not only common, but far from being deemed either disrespectful or displeasing."<sup>1</sup>

More effectually to screen the company from the burning sun-beam, a large canopy was spread upon lofty pillars, and attached by cords of various colours: "Some of these awnings," says Forbes, "belonging to the Indian Emperors, were very costly, and distinguished by various names. That which belonged to the emperor Akber was of such magnitude as to contain ten thousand persons; and the erecting of it employed one thousand men for a week with the help of machines; one of these awnings, without any ornaments, cost ten thousand rupees." Similar to these were the splendid hangings under which Ahasuerus the king of Persia entertained his court. They "were white, green, and blue, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble."<sup>2</sup>

On these joyous occasions, any person that happens to pass by, is invited to join the company, and share in their enjoyments. The beauty of the scene tends to elevate and open their hearts, and to produce kind and generous affections; which prompt them to welcome the weary traveller to their society. To such invitations, the prophet seems to refer: "In that day, saith the Lord of hosts,

<sup>1</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 183, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 191, 192.

<sup>3</sup> Esch. i, 5, 6.

shall ye call every man his neighbour, under the vine and under the fig-tree."<sup>a</sup> Ye shall invite your neighbours, and the traveller that happens to pass by, to the pleasures of your retirement; and to share, under the shade of the vine and the fig tree, the exuberant bounties of heaven. As the words of the prophet evidently refer to a state of high prosperity which the chosen people were to enjoy, they cannot naturally be understood to mean a call for relief, to those who were sitting at their repast under the shade of the trees, but an invitation to those that passed by to share in their comforts.

Many of the Arabs, and other eastern people; use no spoon in eating their victuals; they dip their hands into the milk, which is placed before them in a wooden bowl, and lift it to their mouth in their palm. Le Bruin observed five or six Arabs eating milk together; on the side of the Nile, as he was going up that river to Cairo; and D'Arteux says they eat their pottage in this same way.<sup>b</sup> Is it not reasonable to suppose, says Harmer, that the same usage obtained anciently among the Jews; and that Solomon refers to it when he says, "A slothful man hides his hand in the dish, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again?" Our translators render it the bosom; but the word every where signifies a pot or dish. The meaning, therefore, according to Harmer is, "the slothful man having lifted up his hand full of milk or pottage to his mouth, will not do it a second time; no, though it be actually dipped into the milk or pottage; he will not submit to the fatigue of lifting it again from thence to his mouth."<sup>c</sup> But as it is rather a caricature

<sup>a</sup> Zech. iii, 10.

<sup>b</sup> Voy. dans la Palest. p. 205.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. i, p. 586.

<sup>d</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 49-54.

to represent the sluggard as so excessively indolent or lazy, that he will rather let his hand lie in the dish among the milk or pottage, than lift it to his mouth a second time, the explanation of Dr. Russel is to be preferred : "The Arabs, in eating, do not thrust their whole hand into the dish, but only their thumb and two first fingers, with which they take up the morsel, and that in a moderate quantity at a time. I take, therefore, the sense to be, that the slothful man, instead of taking up a moderate mouthful, thrusts his hand into the pillaw, or such like, and takes a handful at a time, in order to avoid the trouble of returning frequently to the dish."<sup>o</sup> According to this view, the slothful man endeavours by one effort to save himself the trouble of continued exertion. It seems to have been adopted by the Arabs, as much for the sake of dispatch as from necessity ; for D'Arvieux says, a man would eat upon very unequal terms with a spoon, among those that instead of them use the palms of their hands. This mode of drinking was used by three hundred men of Gideon's army : "And the number of them that lapped, putting their hands to their mouth, were three hundred men ; but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water."<sup>p</sup> Three hundred men, immediately on their coming to the water, drank of it in the quickest manner they could, by lifting it in their palms, and lapping it like a dog, that they might be ready, without delay, to follow their leader to the battle : the rest took up water in pitchers, or some kind of vessel, and bending down upon their heels and knees, or with their knees placed upright before them, either of which might be called bowing their knees to drink, they handed these

<sup>o</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 50, Dr. Clarke's note.

<sup>p</sup> Judg. vii, 6.

drinking vessels slowly from one to another, as at an ordinary meal; an act which procured their dismissal. The Hottentot manner of drinking water from a pool, or stream, seems exactly to coincide with the mode adopted by the three hundred, and gives a very clear idea of it: They throw it up with their right hand into their mouth, seldom bringing the hand nearer than the distance of a foot from the mouth, and so quickly, that however thirsty, they are soon satisfied. Mr. Campbell, who had an opportunity of seeing this operation, when travelling among that people, frequently tried to imitate it, but without success.<sup>9</sup>

The oriental feast has been, from time immemorial, enlivened with music and dancing.<sup>r</sup> In Turkey it is still concluded with coffee and perfumes, and a dance by the female slaves.<sup>s</sup> In the heroic ages, dancing was reckoned an amusement so becoming persons of honour and wisdom, that the Grecian poets give Apollo the title of the dancer, from his fondness of this diversion; and represent the supreme Jupiter himself, as by no means reluctant to display his agility in this way.

*Masque & ballet among ancient Romans.*

At Rome, the custom was quite different, for there, to use the words of Cicero, *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, &c.* "No man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent entertainment; dancing is the very last effect of luxury and wantonness." Even in Greece, where dancing was numbered among the liberal sciences, wanton and

<sup>9</sup> Campbell's Trav. p. 112.

<sup>r</sup> Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vol. i, p. 212.

<sup>s</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 400, 401. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 81. D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 249.

effeminate dances were condemned as indecent in men of wisdom and character. This amusement was not withheld from God's ancient people; but it was confined chiefly to the female sex, who seem, in every instance mentioned in Scripture, to have enjoyed it by themselves. The men and women of Israel never mingled in the dance, so far as the writer can perceive from the sacred history, except on one occasion, when they worshipped the golden calf. Nor is the view now given contradicted by our Lord's allusion, in the parable of the prodigal son; for he only mentions music and dancing, without saying a word about the mode; we have therefore a right to conclude, that he referred to the established custom of his people.<sup>1</sup>

But the highest pleasure which the ancients experienced at their feasts, arose from agreeable conversation. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks, says Athenæus, "it was more requisite and becoming to gratify the company by agreeable conversation, than with variety of dishes." And in the heroic ages, as Plutarch observes, it was usual to consult about affairs of the greatest importance at public feasts; hence Nestor persuades Agamemnon to invite the Grecian commanders to an entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the management of the war.<sup>2</sup> The Spartan youth frequented the public tables, as the schools of temperance and prudence, where they heard discourses of public affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished masters. The same custom obtained in several other cities of Greece, in Persia, and other oriental states.<sup>3</sup> This partly accounts for the discourses which our Lord delivered, and the interesting conversations he main-

<sup>1</sup> Luke xv, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Il, lib. ix, l. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 406.

tained, at public entertainments. It is not to be supposed, that the Son of God and the Redeemer of men, would suffer any favourable opportunity of doing good to escape, without improving it to the very best advantage; but when he graciously drew the attention of his company to matters of the deepest interest, he availed himself of a custom familiar to every part of the east.

It was also customary to unbend their mind by turns, and divert them from serious affairs, by discourses on ludicrous subjects; but no pastime was more common, than that of proposing and answering difficult questions. The person who solved the question was honoured with a reward; he who failed in the attempt suffered a certain punishment; both the rewards and penalties were varied, according to the disposition of the company.\* That the custom of proposing riddles was very ancient, and derived from the eastern nations, appears from the story of Samson, in the book of Judges, who proposed one to the Philistines at his nuptial feast. Nor were these questions confined to entertainments, but in the primitive times, were proposed on other occasions, by those who desired to make proof of another's wisdom and learning. Agreeably to this custom, the queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon with hard questions.\*

When the company were ready to separate, a servant entered and sprinkled them profusely with rose water, as a valedictory mark of his master's regard. In some places, this was done at the beginning of the entertainment, and was considered as a cordial welcome. Mr. Bruce informs us, that when he rose to take his leave of an eastern family, he "was presently wet to the skin, by deluges of

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 468.

\* 1 Kings i, 1.



change-flower water.” “The first time,” says Niebuhr, “we were received with all the eastern ceremonies, (it was at Rosetta, at a Greek merchant’s house) there was one of our company who was excessively surprised, when a domestic placed himself before him, and threw water over him, as well on his face, as over his clothes.” It appears from the testimony of both these authors, that this is the customary mode of shewing respect and kindness to a guest in the east.\* The prophet Isaiah seems to refer to this custom, in a passage where he describes the character and functions of the Messiah: “So shall he sprinkle many nations, the kings shall shut their mouths at him.”† As the Father’s chosen servant, he shall appear in the fulness of time, to display his infinite love, and impart the blessings of salvation, through his own blood, to the children of men. He shall welcome them to the feast of the gospel, by the effusion of his holy Spirit; and when they bid adieu to the courts of God’s house on earth, he will see them again, and refresh their departing souls with “showers of blessing.” The kings and princes of the earth, shall fall down in silent wonder and astonishment before him, and all nations shall serve him.‡

The entertainer occasionally dismissed his guests with costly presents. Lysimachus of Babylon, having entertained Hemerus the tyrant of the Babylonians and Selucians, with three hundred other guests, gave every man a silver cup, of four pounds weight. When Alexander made his marriage feast at Susa in Persia, he paid the

\* Travels, vol. iii, p. 14.

† The Hindoos observe the same custom, according to Mr. Forbes. Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 12; and vol. iii, p. 176, 181.

‡ Isa. iii, 18.

§ See Taylor’s Calmet, vol. iii.

debts of all his soldiers out of his own exchequer, and presented every one of his guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand, with golden cups.<sup>c</sup> The master of the house among the Romans, used also to give the guests certain presents at their departure, or to send them after they were gone, to their respective habitations.<sup>d</sup> It is probable that this custom, like many others which prevailed in Greece and Rome, was derived from the nations of Asia; for the sacred writers allude repeatedly to a similar custom, which closed the religious festivals or public entertainments among the chosen people of God. When David brought up the ark from the house of Obbedon, into the place which he had prepared for it, he offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord. And as soon as the solemnity was finished, "he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel; as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a flaggon of wine."<sup>e</sup>

Their ardent hospitality did not permit them to forget their relations and acquaintances that happened to be detained from their public banquets, by personal or domestic afflictions, or any other cause. To such persons it was the custom to send a part of what remained from the feast. Nehemiah alludes to this kind and generous usage, in his charge to the people: "Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared." Another instance of this custom occurs in the book of Esther: "Therefore the Jews made the fourteenth day of the month Adar, a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending

<sup>c</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 416.

<sup>d</sup> Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 446.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. vi, 19.

portions one to another."<sup>f</sup> The command of Nehemiah to send portions to those for whom nothing was prepared, has been generally understood to mean the poor; but as it was not a private feast, but a national festival, in which the poor and the rich were equally concerned, it cannot, with propriety, be restricted to the former, but ought to be understood of all such as were unavoidably absent, and particularly of those that were in a state of mourning. In the last instance, their sending portions one to another, is expressly distinguished from gifts to the poor, in a following verse,<sup>g</sup> and, therefore, cannot have the same meaning. An oriental prince sometimes honours a friend or a favourite servant, who cannot conveniently attend at his table, by sending a mess to his own home. When the grand emir found that it incensed D'Arvieux to eat with him, he politely desired him to take his own time for eating, and sent him what he liked from his kitchen at the time he chose.<sup>h</sup> And thus, when David, the king of Israel, pretended, for secret reasons too well known to himself, that it would be inconvenient for Urijah to continue at the royal palace, he dismissed him to his own house: "and there followed him," says the historian, "a mess of meat from the king."<sup>i</sup>

The women are not permitted to associate with the other sex at an eastern banquet; but they are allowed to entertain one another in their own apartments. When Ahasuerus, the king of Persia, treated all the people of his capital with a splendid feast, Vashti, the queen, was informed, "made a banquet for the women in the royal house, which belonged to king Ahasuerus." This,

<sup>f</sup> Esth. ix, 12. <sup>g</sup> Vers. 22.

<sup>h</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans le Palais, p. 20; 21. <sup>i</sup> 1 Sam. xvi, 20.

observes Chardin, is the custom of all the east; the women have their feasts at the same time, but apart from the men. And Maillet informs us in his letters, that the same custom is observed in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This is undoubtedly the reason that the prophet distinctly mentions "the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride;"<sup>2</sup> he means that the noise of nuptial mirth was heard in different apartments. The personal voices of the newly married pair cannot be understood, but the noisy mirth which a marriage feast commonly excites; for in Syria, and probably in all the surrounding countries, the bride is condemned to absolute silence, and fixed by remorseless etiquette to the spot where she has been seated.<sup>3</sup> When the banquet was finished, and the guests had removed, the poor came in and eat up the fragments, so that nothing was lost.<sup>4</sup> This custom will account for the command to the servants, in the parable of the supper, "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind. And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the lord said unto the servant, go out into the highways, and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."<sup>5</sup> These poor and destitute persons were called to the entertainment only before the time when according to the custom of the country they were expected to attend.

<sup>1</sup> Lett. x, p. 79.    <sup>2</sup> Jer. xxvi, 10.    <sup>3</sup> Ruquel's Hist. vol. ii, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 187, 190.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xiv, 21, 22, 23.

## CHAP. VI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MARRIAGE  
CEREMONIES OF THE EAST:

*Marriage reckoned honourable among the Jews and other nations.—Not allowed to marry without restriction.—Time of marriage not the same in all countries.—Youngest daughter could not be given in marriage before the elder.—Marriage the union of one man with one woman.—Marriage-contracts in primitive times made with little ceremony.—Women literally purchased by their husbands.—When not able to give a dowry they gave an equivalent.—Contract made in the house of the woman's father.—The espousals performed under a tent or canopy.—Interval between the espousals and the marriage.—Bridegroom at liberty to visit his espoused wife in her father's house.—Purifications before marriage.—Decked with garlands of herbs and flowers on their marriage day.—The marriage ceremony.—The new-married couple conducted to their dwelling with lamps and torches.—Wedding garments.—The marriage feast.—Apartments of the women counted sacred.—Married women reduced to a state of great subjection.—Charged with the care of all domestic affairs.—In ancient Greece confined in their houses.—Oriental women suffer little from parturition.—New-born child washed with water.—How infants were treated in the east.—Barrenness still reckoned a disgrace.—Surnames derived from the trade or occupation of the parent.—Difference between the treatment of a son and a daughter.—Children suckled at the father's breast.—Feast at the weaning of a child.—Children carried astride on the hip.—Reverence of sons to their parents in Persia.—Illegitimacy reckoned a dishonour in Greece and other countries.—Jewish law.—Children adopted.—Slaves laws respecting them.—Branding them on the forehead.—Price of a slave.—Masters had the power of life and death over their slaves.—A slave not permitted to look his master in the face.—Greek and Roman slaves treated with great severity.—Their condition not so degrading as in modern times in the west.*

AMONG the Jews, the state of marriage was, from the remotest periods of their history, reckoned so honourable,

that the person who neglected, or declined to enter into it, without a good reason, was thought to be guilty of a great crime. Such a mode of thinking was not confined to them; in several of the Grecian states, marriage was held in equal respect; it was greatly encouraged by their laws, and the neglect of it discountenanced or punished. The Lacedæmonians subjected to severe penalties those men who deferred, or wholly abstained from marrying. The Athenians enacted a law, by which all who were entrusted with public affairs, were to be married, and have children and estates; for these were regarded as so many pledges of their good behaviour.<sup>a</sup>

The Jews did not allow marriageable persons to enter into that honourable state without restriction; the high priest was forbidden by law to marry a widow, and the priests of every rank, to take a harlot to wife, a profane woman, or one put away from her husband. To prevent the alienation of inheritances, an heiress could not marry but into her own tribe. The whole people of Israel, being a holy nation, separated from all the earth to the service of the true God, and to be the depositaries of his law, were forbidden to contract matrimonial alliances with the idolatrous nations in their vicinity. To check the licentiousness of the human heart, and to distinguish the chosen people from the heathen around them, that were exceedingly dissolute in their manners, and betrayed a violent propensity to marry their nearest relations, certain degrees of affinity were fixed by divine authority, within which the conjugal relation was not to be formed. Since it pleased the Creator to make of one blood the whole human race, it was not possible in the first gene-

<sup>a</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 263.

rations of our family; to avoid the intermarriage of very near relations. The Jewish writers maintain that marriage, within the degrees of affinity, was not forbidden before the giving of the law; that with one's own mother, or step-mother, or the sister of the same mother excepted. An incident in the history of Abraham seems to corroborate this opinion. When Abimelech, the king of Gerar, complained that the patriarch had imposed upon him by calling Sarah his sister, when she was in reality his wife, the latter replied: "And yet indeed she is my sister, she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife."<sup>b</sup> The same liberty was claimed in other parts of the world. The Lacedæmonian lawgiver allowed marriages between the children of the same mother but of different fathers. At Athens, they were forbidden to marry sisters by the same mother, but not those by the same father. Thus the renowned Cimon, being unable on account of his extreme poverty, to provide a suitable match for his sister Elphibia, married her himself. Plutarch says this was done publicly, and without any fear of the law;<sup>c</sup> and Cornélius Nepos likewise assures us, that it was nothing but what the custom of their country allowed.<sup>d</sup> The greater part of the Greeks, however, considered it as a scandalous thing to contract marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity. *Hermione*, in *Euripides*, reprobates the custom which permitted a brother to marry his sister, with no less detestation than that which permitted a son to marry his mother, or a father, his daughter. The Lacedæmonians were forbidden to enter into the married state with any of their kindred; in the degrees either of ascent or descent;

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xx, 12.<sup>c</sup> Life of Cimon.<sup>d</sup> Cimon.

but collateral relations might contract marriage; for nephews married their aunts, and uncles their nieces. The marriage of brothers and sisters was utterly illegal. But several of the barbarous nations disregarded altogether the rules of decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous mixtures; the Persians are particularly distinguished by such practices; for their Magi, the most sacred persons among them, were the offspring of mothers and their own sons.\*

The time of marriage was not the same in all countries; the Spartans and Athenians were not permitted to marry till they arrived at full maturity; among the Hindoos a female is often a mother at twelve years of age.<sup>f</sup> In South America girls are often married at the age of twelve years; and among the Esquimaux Indians, and in Asia among the Kamtschadales and the Cariana, girls of ten years old are often mothers.<sup>g</sup> And Montesquieu justly remarks that women in hot countries are marriageable at eight or nine.<sup>h</sup> But among the Jews, a young man might be given in marriage after he had completed his thirteenth year and one day; and a virgin when she was twelve years old and one day; but the males were commonly married at the age of eighteen. In Italy, the age of puberty, or marriage, was from fourteen for men, and twelve for girls.<sup>i</sup> In Persia, girls were declared marriageable at nine and boys at thirteen years of age.<sup>j</sup> Girls, it is said, are married at nine years of age and sometimes mothers at thirteen.<sup>k</sup> What is yet more remarkable, they are sometimes

\* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 268.

<sup>f</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 150.

<sup>g</sup> Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii, p. 232, 235.

<sup>h</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 73.

<sup>i</sup> Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 461.

<sup>j</sup> Chardin's Trav. vol. iii, p. 400.

<sup>k</sup> Niebuhr's Trav. p. 63.



mothers at eleven, grandmothers at twenty-two, and past child-bearing at thirty.<sup>1</sup>

The marriage engagement of a minor, without the knowledge and consent of the parents, was of no force; so sacred was the parental authority held among that people. Grecian virgins were not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents; whence Hero, in Musæus, tells Lysander they could not be honourably joined in marriage, because her parents were against it:

*Οὐ γὰρ μοι συνέσπον ἵσταίνην.*

The mother's consent was necessary, as well as the father's; and therefore Iphigenia, in Euripides, was not to be given in marriage to Achilles, till Clytemnestra approved the match. Nor were men permitted to marry without consulting their parents, who claimed a right to control their affections, and even to dispose of them in marriage.<sup>m</sup> Achilles refuses Agamemnon's daughter, and leaves it to his father Peleus to choose him a wife:

*Ὡς γὰρ δὴ με πατρὶς θεῶν, καὶ μηδ' ἰσχυροί*

*Πάλλας Διὸς μοι σείοντα γυναικὴν γαμήσονται αἶσθη.* *Il. lib. ix, l. 39.*

In Persia, the female is betrothed by the parents; she may, however, refuse her consent; and the marriage cannot proceed if she continues averse to it.<sup>n</sup>

These customs appear to have been derived from a very remote antiquity; for when Eliezer of Damascus went to Mesopotamia to take a wife from thence unto his master's son, he disclosed the motives of his journey to the father and brother of Rebecca;<sup>o</sup> and Hamor applied to Jacob and his sons, for their consent to the union of Di-

<sup>1</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 434.

<sup>m</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 270. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 463.

<sup>n</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 589.

<sup>o</sup> Gen. xxiv, 34.

nah with his son Shéchem.<sup>p</sup> Samson also consulted his parents about his marriage; and entreated them to get for him the object of his choice.<sup>q</sup> The right of the parents, in all ordinary cases, to dispose of both their sons and their daughters, under the law, is recognized in many parts of the Old Testament; but it appears from the conduct of Samson, that it was not absolute in every case, for when his parents objected to his choice, he renewed his suit in a more peremptory tone: "Then his father and his mother said unto him; Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me, for she pleaseth me well."

In Mesopotamia the younger daughter could not be given in marriage before the elder. This rule of conduct Laban pleaded as his excuse for substituting Leah in the place of Rachel: "It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born." The existence of this rule, and its application to practice, in those parts of the world, is confirmed by the Hindoo law, which makes it criminal to give the younger daughter in marriage before the elder; or for a younger son to marry while his elder brother remains unmarried.<sup>r</sup>

Marriage is evidently meant by Scripture and reason, to be the union of one man with one woman. When God said, "It is not good that the man should be alone;" he promised him the help only of a single mate: "I will make him an help meet for him."<sup>s</sup> This gracious promise he

<sup>p</sup> Gen. xxxiv, 6.

<sup>q</sup> Judg. xiv, 23.

<sup>r</sup> Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. vii, p. 836. Gen. xxix, 26. Haller's Preface to the Gentoo Laws, p. 69.

<sup>s</sup> Gen. ii, 18.

soon performed in the formation of one woman; a clear intimation of his will that only one man and one woman should be joined in wedlock. This design Adam recognized, and acknowledged in express terms; and his declaration was certainly meant as a rule for his descendants in every succeeding age: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." These quotations, which are all couched in terms of the singular number, are inconsistent with the doctrine of polygamy. The original appointment was confirmed by our Lord in these words: "Have ye not read, that he which made you at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, for this cause, shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh."\* The apostle is not less decisive in his direction to the churches: "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife; and let every woman have her own husband."† But though the law is so decisive, it cannot be doubted that polygamy was introduced soon after the creation; Lamech, one of the descendants of Cain, and only the sixth person from Adam, married two wives; he was probably the first who ventured, in this respect, to transgress the law of his Maker. This unwarrantable practice, derived from the antediluvian world, seems to have become very common soon after the flood; for it is mentioned as nothing remarkable that Sarah, when she despaired of having children, took her hand-maid Hagar, and gave her to Abraham her husband, by whom she had a son. Both Esau and Jacob had a number of wives; and that is un-

\* Matt. xix, 4.

† 1 Cor. vii, 2.

doubtedly one of the practices which Moses suffered to remain among his people, because of the hardness of their hearts, prohibiting only the high-priest to have more than one wife.

Every transgression of the divine law is attended by its corresponding punishment. Polygamy has proved in all ages, and in all countries where it has been suffered, a teeming source of evil. The jealousy and bitter contentions in the family of Abraham, and of his grandson Jacob, which proceeded from that cause, are well known; and still more deplorable were the dissensions which convulsed the house, and shook the throne of David. Such mischiefs are the natural and necessary effects of the practice; for polygamy divides the affections of the husband, and by consequence, generates incurable jealousies and contentions among the unhappy victims of his licentious desires. To prevent his abode from becoming the scene of unceasing confusion and uproar, he is compelled to govern it, as the oriental polygamist still does, with despotic authority, which at once extinguishes all the rational and most endearing comforts of the conjugal state. The husband is a stern and unfeeling despot; his harem, a group of trembling slaves. The children espouse, with an ardour unknown to those who are placed in other circumstances, the cause of their own mother, and look upon the children of the other wives as strangers or enemies. They regard their common father with indifference or terror; while they cling to their own mother with the fondest affection, as the only parent in whom they feel any interest, or from whom they expect any suitable return of attention and kindness. This state of feeling and attachment, is attested by every writer on the manners of the east:

and accounts for a way of speaking so common in the Scriptures: "It is my brother, and the son of my mother." "They were my brethern," said Gideon, "the sons of my mother; as the Lord liveth, if ye had saved them alive, I would not slay you."† It greatly aggravated the affliction of David, that he had become an alien to his mother's children;‡ the enmity of his brethren, the children of his father's other wives, or his more distant relatives, gave him less concern; "I am become a stranger to my brethren, and an alien to my mother's children." The same allusion occurs in the complaint of the spouse: "Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards."§ The children of one wife, scarcely looked upon the children of the other wives as their brothers and sisters at all; and they scarcely felt more regard for their father. An oriental, in consequence of this unnatural practice, takes little notice of an insult offered to his father; but expresses the utmost indignation when a word is spoken to the disadvantage of his mother. To defame or to curse her, is the last insult which his enemy can offer; and one which he seldom or never forgives. "Strike," cried an incensed African to his antagonist, "but do not curse my mother."¶

Marriage-contracts seem to have been made in the primitive ages with little ceremony. The suitor himself, or his father, sent a messenger to the father of the woman, to ask her in marriage. Abraham sent the principal servant of his household, with a considerable retinue and

† Judg. viii, 19.

‡ Psa. lxi, 8.

§ Song i, 6; see also ch. viii, 1, 2.

¶ Park's Trav. vol. i, p. 264.

costly presents, to the city of Nahor, to take a wife unto his son Isaac, from among his relations. The father of the suitor sometimes solicited the person whom he had chosen for his wife; for Hamor, the father of Shechem, went out unto Jacob, to treat with him about the marriage of Dinah to his son, the heir of his house, and the hope of his family. If the woman resided under her father's roof, the parents were consulted, and their consent obtained; and then the damsel was asked if she agreed to the proposal. The servant of Abraham stated the design of his journey to Bethuel and Laban, the father and brother of Rebecca, and solicited their consent; and when they had agreed to his request, they said, "We will call the damsel and inquire at her mouth. And they called Rebecca, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? and she said, I will go."

The kings and nobles of Israel were not more ceremonious on these occasions. When David heard that Nabal was dead, he sent messengers to Abigail to solicit her hand in marriage: "And they spake unto her, saying, David sent us unto thee to take thee to him to wife. And she arose and bowed herself on her face to the earth, and said, Behold, let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord." After the death of Urijah, the same prince sent and fetched Bathsheba to his house, and she became his wife. This entirely corresponds with the mode in which the oriental princes generally form their matrimonial alliances. The king of Abyssinia "sends an officer to the house where the lady lives, who announces to her, that it is the king's pleasure she should remove instantly to the palace. She then dresses herself

\* 1 Sam. xxv, 40, 41.

in the best manner, and immediately obeys. Thereafterward he assigns her an apartment in the palace, and gives her an house elsewhere, in any part she chooses. The nearest resemblance to marriage is when he makes her iteglie, or queen; for whether in the court or in the camp, he orders one of the judges to pronounce in his presence, that he, the king, has chosen his handmaid, naming her, for his queen; upon which the crown is put upon her head, but she is not anointed.\*

In the remote ages of antiquity, women were literally purchased by their husbands; and the presents made to their parents or other relations were called their dowry.<sup>a</sup> Thus, we find Shechem bargaining with Jacob and his sons for Dinah: "Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall say unto me, I will give: Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife."<sup>c</sup> The practice still continues in the country of Shechem; for when a young Arab wishes to marry, he must purchase his wife; and for this reason, fathers, among the Arabs, are never more happy than when they have many daughters. They are reckoned the principal riches of a house. An Arabian suitor will offer fifty sheep, six camels, or a dozen of cows; if he be not rich enough to make such offers, he proposes to give a mare or a colt; considering in the offer, the merit of the young woman, the rank of her family, and his own circumstances. In the primitive times of Greece, a well-educated lady was valued at four oxen.<sup>d</sup> When they are agreed on both sides, the contract is drawn up by him that acts as cadi

<sup>a</sup> Bruce's Trav. vol. iv, p. 487.

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 272.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxiv, 2.

<sup>d</sup> Iliad. lib. xxiii, l. 706.

or judge among these Arabs.\* In some parts of the east, a measure of corn is formally mentioned in contracts for their concubines, or temporary wives, besides the sum of money which is stipulated by way of dowry. This custom is probably as ancient as concubinage, with which it is connected; and if so, it will perhaps account for the prophet Hosea's purchasing a wife of this kind, for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley.<sup>f</sup>

When the intended husband was not able to give a dowry, he offered an equivalent. The patriarch Jacob, who came to Laban with only his staff, offered to serve him seven years for Rachel; a proposal which Laban accepted. This custom has descended to modern times; for in Cabul the young men who are unable to advance the required dowry, "live with their future father-in-law and earn their bride by their services, without ever seeing the object of their wishes."<sup>g</sup> Saul, instead of a dowry, required David to bring him an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, under the pretence of avenging himself of his enemies. This custom has prevailed in latter times; for in some countries they give their daughters in marriage to the most valiant men, or those who should bring them so many heads of the people with whom they happen to

\* In Persia, the contract of marriage is the deed by which the wife is entitled to her dower, which is the principal part of her provision, in the event of her husband's death, and her sole dependence if she is divorced. It is made payable from her husband's property; and if he has none, the wife's portion is secured upon whatever he may hereafter possess. The dower is made over to the female or her assigns, before the consummation of marriage, and becomes her entire right. Sir John Malcolm's Hist. vol. ii, p. 590.

<sup>f</sup> De la Roque Voy. dans la Palest. p. 222.

<sup>g</sup> Elphinstone's Cabul, book ii, ch. 3.



be at war. It is recorded of a nation in Carmania, that no man among them was permitted to marry, till he had first brought the head of an enemy to the king. Aristotle admits,<sup>a</sup> that the ancient Grecians were accustomed to buy their wives; but they no sooner began to lay aside their barbarous manners, than this disgusting practice ceased, and the custom of giving portions to their sons-in-law, was substituted in its place. The Romans also, in the first ages of their history, purchased their wives; but afterwards, they required the wife to bring a portion to the husband, that he might be able to bear the charges of the matrimonial state more easily.

The contract of marriage was made in the house of the woman's father, before the elders and governors of the city or district. Among the Romans, the articles of the marriage-contract were written on tables and sealed.<sup>1</sup> The manner of contracting or espousing was various. Sometimes the man put a piece of money into the woman's hand before witnesses, and said, Be thou espoused to me according to the law of Moses and Israel; or it was done by writing, which was no more than writing the same words with the woman's name, and delivering it to her before witnesses; or lastly, by cohabitation, when the law obliged the man to marry her whom he had dishonoured, if her father gave his consent. They had also several forms of betrothing in Greece; of which one is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, out of Menander: "I give you this my daughter, to make you father of children lawfully begotten." According to Xenophon, the dowry was sometimes mentioned; for when Cyaxares betrothed his daughter to Cyrus, he addressed him in these words: "I give

<sup>a</sup> Politic, lib. ii, cap. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 403.

you, Cyrus, this woman, who is my daughter, with all Media for her dowry.”<sup>1</sup>

The espousals by money, or a written instrument; were performed by the man and woman under a tent or canopy erected for that purpose. Into this chamber the bridegroom was accustomed to go with his bride, that he might talk with her more familiarly; which was considered as a ceremony of confirmation to the wedlock. While he was there, no person was allowed to enter; his friends and attendants waited for him at the door, with torches and lamps in their hands; and when he came out, he was received by all that were present with great joy and acclamation. To this ancient custom, the Psalmist alludes in his magnificent description of the heavens: “In them he set a tabernacle for the sun; which as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, rejoices as a strong man to run a race.”<sup>2</sup>

A Jewish virgin legally betrothed, was considered as a lawful wife; and by consequence, could not be put away without a bill of divorce. And if she proved unfaithful to her betrothed husband, she was punished as an adulteress; and her seducer incurred the same punishment as if he had polluted the wife of his neighbour. This is the reason that the angel addressed Joseph, the betrothed husband of Mary, in these terms: “Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the holy Ghost.” The evangelist Luke gives her the same title: “And Joseph also went up from Galilee unto Bethlehem, to be taxed, with Mary his espoused wife.”<sup>3</sup>

Ten or twelve months commonly intervened between the ceremony of espousals, and the marriage; during this

<sup>1</sup> Cyropæd. lib. vii, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Psa. xix, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Luke ii, 4, 5.

interval, the espoused wife continued with her parents, that she might provide herself with nuptial ornaments suitable to her station. This custom serves to explain a circumstance in Samson's marriage, which is involved in some obscurity: "He went down;" says the historian, "and talked with the woman (whom he had seen at Timnath), and she pleased him well." These words seem to refer to the ceremony of espousals; the following to the subsequent marriage, "And after a time he returned to take her."<sup>a</sup> Hence, a considerable time intervened between the espousals, and their actual union.

From the time of the espousals, the bridegroom was at liberty to visit his espoused wife in the house of her father; yet neither of the parties left their own abode during eight days before the marriage; but persons of the same age visited the bridegroom, and made merry with him. These circumstances are distinctly marked in the account which the sacred historian has given us of Samson's marriage: "So his father went down unto the woman, and made there a feast; for so used the young men to do. And it came to pass when they saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him."<sup>b</sup> These companions were the children of the bride-chamber, of whom our Lord speaks: "Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them?"<sup>c</sup>

An eastern bride submitted to various purifications, before the celebration of her nuptials. The virgins of Persia were prepared for the bed of Abasuerus, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things, for the purifying of the women." It was a custom among the ancient Jews, to adorn the mar-

<sup>a</sup> Judg. xiv, 7, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. xiv, 10.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. xix, 15.

ried couple with bridal crowns, which were generally of gold, made in the form of a tower. We discover this usage in the invitation of the spouse to her companions, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart."<sup>p</sup> And in the compliment of the bridegroom: "Thine head upon thee is like Carmel," rising with the tower shaped crown, "like that mountain in shape; and rough with jewels as that mountain is with protuberances."<sup>q</sup> The prophet Isaiah makes an allusion to the same custom, where he celebrates, in strains of rapturous pleasure, the future prosperity of Zion: "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord; my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation; he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments;" literally, decketh himself with a crown.<sup>r</sup>

The Greeks were decked with garlands of various herbs and flowers on their marriage-day; whence Clytemnestra, in Euripides, speaks thus to Achilles about her daughter Iphigenia:

ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι στέφανον ἑταίρῳ.

Σὺ δὲ μέλει μοι ὅπως ἴσῃς ὡς ἡμετέρῳ.

"But oh, in vain, though I had crowned her to be wedded to thee." The hair of a Roman bride was also crowned with flowers, after being divided into six locks with the point of a spear.<sup>s</sup> This very ancient practice of crowning the bridegroom and the bride, has been con-

<sup>p</sup> Song iii, 11.

<sup>q</sup> Song vii, 5. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii,

1 hund. p. 89, and 2 hund. p. 147.

<sup>r</sup> Isa. lxi, 11.

<sup>s</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 285. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 464.

tinued among the members of the Greek church in Egypt, to our own times.

The marriage-ceremony was commonly performed in a garden, or in the open air; the bride was placed under a canopy, supported by four youths, and adorned with jewels according to the rank of the married persons; all the company crying out with joyful acclamations, Blessed be he that cometh. It was anciently the custom, at the conclusion of the ceremony, for the father and mother, and kindred of the woman, to pray for a blessing upon the parties. Bethuel and Laban, and the other members of their family, pronounced a solemn benediction upon Rebecca before her departure: "And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions; and let thy seed possess the gate of those that hate them."\* And in times long posterior to the age of Isaac, when Ruth the Moabitess was espoused to Boaz, "All the people that were in the gate, and the elders, said we are witnesses: The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel, and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel; and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem."† After the benedictions, the bride is conducted, with great pomp, to the house of her husband; this is usually done in the evening;‡ and as the procession moved along, money, sweetmeats, flowers, and other articles, were thrown among the populace, which they caught in cloths made for such occasions, stretched in a particular manner upon frames. The use of perfumes at eastern marriages is common; and upon great occasions

\* Gen. xxiv, 60.

† Ruth iv, 11, 12.

‡ Niebuhr's Trav. vol. i, p. 147, 148.

very profuse. Not only are the garments scented, till, in the Psalmist's language, they smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia; it is also customary for virgins to meet, and lead the procession, with silver gilt pots of perfumes; and sometimes aromatics are burned in the windows of all the houses in the streets through which the procession is to pass, till the air becomes loaded with fragrant odours. In allusion to this practice it is demanded, "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness, like pillars of smoke perfumed with myrrh and frankincense?"<sup>v</sup> So liberally were these rich perfumes burned on this occasion, that a pillar of smoke ascended from the censors, so high, that it could be seen at a considerable distance; and the perfume was so rich, as to equal in value and fragrance all the powders of the merchant. The custom of burning perfumes on these occasions, still continues in the east; for Lady Mary Wortly Montague, describing the reception of a young Turkish bride at the bagnio, says, "Two virgins met her at the door; two others filled silver gilt pots with perfumes, and began the procession, the rest following in pairs to the number of thirty. In this order they marched round the three rooms of the bagnio."<sup>w</sup> And Maillet informs us, that when the ambassadors of an eastern monarch, sent to propose marriage to an Egyptian queen, made their entrance into the capital of that kingdom, the streets through which they passed were strewed with flowers, and precious odours burning in the windows, from very early in the morning, embalmed the air.<sup>x</sup>

It was the custom among the ancient Greeks, and the nations around them, to conduct the new-married couple with torches and lamps to their dwelling, as appears from

<sup>v</sup> Song iii, 6.<sup>w</sup> Letters on Turkey, vol. i, p. 262.<sup>x</sup> Lett. v.

the messenger in Euripides, who says, he called to mind the time when he bore torches before Menelaus and Helena :

*Νῦν ἀνὰ τὸν αἶον τοὺς οὐρανὸν παλιν, &c.*

These torches were usually carried by servants; and the procession was sometimes attended with singers and dancers. Thus Homer, in his description of the shield of Achilles :

*— ἵππῃ μὲν οὐ γάμοις ἔπειτα ἱλασθησάμενος, &c. Il. lib. xviii, l. 490.*

“ In one (of the sculptured cities) nuptials were celebrating, and solemn feasts ; through the city they conducted the new-married pair from their chambers, with flaming torches, while frequent shouts of Hymen burst from the attending throng, and young men danced in skilful measures to the sound of the pipe and the harp.”<sup>v</sup>

A similar custom is observed among the Hindoos. The husband and wife, on the day of their marriage, being both in the same palanquin, go about seven and eight o'clock at night, accompanied with all their kindred and friends; the trumpets and drums go before them; and they are lighted by a number of flambeaux; immediately before the palanquin, walk many women, whose business it is to sing verses, in which they wish them all manner of prosperity. They march in this equipage through the streets, for the space of some hours, after which they return to their own house, where the domestics are in waiting. The whole house is illumined with small lamps; and many of those flambeaux already mentioned, are kept ready for their arrival, besides those which accompany them, and are carried before the palanquin.\* These flam-

<sup>v</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 286. Hesiod Scutum Herc. l. 274—280.

\* Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. vii, p. 561; and Forbes's Orient. Memo. vol. iii, p. 261.

beams are composed of many pieces of old linen, squeezed hard against one another in a round figure, and thrust down into a mould of copper. The persons that hold them in one hand, have in the other a bottle of the same metal with the copper mould, which is full of oil, which they take care to pour out from time to time upon the linen, which otherwise gives no light.\* The Roman ladies also were led home to their husbands in the evening by the light of torches. A Jewish marriage seems to have been conducted in much the same way; for in that beautiful Psalm, where David describes the majesty of Christ's kingdom, we meet with this passage: "And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour. The king's daughter is all-glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needlework; the virgins, her companions that follow her, shall be brought unto thee. With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought: they shall enter into the king's palace."† In the parable of the ten virgins, the same circumstances are introduced: "They that were foolish took their lamps, and took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. While the bridegroom tarried,‡ leading the procession through the streets of the city, the women and domestics that were appointed to wait his arrival at home, "all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out."§

\* Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 417.

† Psa. xlv, 12, &c.

‡ Matth. xxv, 6.



But among the Jews, the bridegroom was not always permitted to accompany his bride from her father's house; an intimate friend was often sent to conduct her, while he remained at home to receive her in his apartment. Her female attendants had the honour to introduce her; and whenever they changed the bride's dress, which is often done, they presented her to the bridegroom. It is the custom, and belongs to their ideas of magnificence, frequently to dress and undress the bride; and to cause her to wear on that same day all the clothes made up for her nuptials. For the same reason the bridegroom's dress is less frequently changed.<sup>c</sup> These circumstances discover the propriety and force of John's language, in his magnificent description of the Jewish church in her millennial state: "And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."<sup>d</sup>

Those that were invited to the marriage, were expected to appear in their best and gayest attire. If the bridegroom was in circumstances to afford it, wedding garments were prepared for all the guests, which were hung up in the antichamber for them to put on over the rest of their clothes, as they entered the apartments where the marriage-feast was prepared. To refuse, or even to neglect putting on the wedding garment, was reckoned an insult to the bridegroom, aggravated by the circumstance that it was provided by himself for the very purpose of being worn on that occasion, and was hung up in the way to the inner apartment, that the guests must have seen it, and recollected the design of its suspension. This accounts for the severity of the sentence pronounced by the king, who

<sup>c</sup> D'Arvieux *Voy. dans la Palest.* p. 225.

<sup>d</sup> *Rev.* xxi, 2.

came in to see the guests, and found among them one who had neglected to put it on: "And he saith unto him, friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless," because it was provided at the expense of the entertainer, and placed full in his view. "Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."<sup>f</sup>

The arrival of the bride at the house of her husband, was followed by the marriage feast, at which they indulged in great mirth and hilarity. It was made entirely at the expense of the bridegroom; thus Homer sings:

*Εἰλαστον αἱ γαμοί, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαινοῦ τὰδ' ὅ' ἔστιν.*

"A shot-free banquet, or a marriage feast,

Not such as is by contribution made."<sup>g</sup>

From the parable of the marriage-feast, we have a right to conclude that such entertainments among the Jews were equally free. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding."<sup>h</sup>

The marriage feast was of old, frequently protracted to the length of seven days; for so long Samson entertained his friends at Timnath.<sup>i</sup> To this festival, Laban is thought by many divines to refer, in his answer to Jacob's complaint, that he had imposed Leah upon him instead of Rachel; "Fulfil the week of the marriage, and we will give thee this also." This feast was called the nuptial joy, with which no other was to be intermixed; all labour ceased while it continued, and no sign of mourn-

<sup>f</sup> Matt. xxii, 11.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. xxii, 2.

<sup>g</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 288.

<sup>i</sup> Judg. xiv, 1.

ing or sorrow was permitted to appear. It may be only further observed, that even in modern times, none but very poor people give a daughter in marriage without a female slave for a handmaid, as hired servants are scarcely known in the oriental regions.<sup>1</sup> Hence Laban, who was a man of considerable property in Mesopotamia, "gave unto his daughter Leah, Zilpah his maid, for an handmaid ;" and "to Rachel his daughter, Bilhah his handmaid, to be her maid."<sup>2</sup> In Greece also, the marriage solemnity lasted several days. On the third day, the bride presented her bridegroom with a robe ; gifts were likewise made to the bride and bridegroom, by the bride's father and friends ; these consisted of golden vessels, beds, couches, plates, and all sorts of necessities for housekeeping, which were carried in great state to the house by women, preceded by a person carrying a basket, in the manner usual at processions, before whom went a boy in white vestments, with a torch in his hand. It was also customary for the bridegroom and his friends to give presents to the bride, after which, the bridegroom had leave to converse freely with her, and she was permitted to appear in public without her veil.<sup>3</sup> The money, says Dr. Russel, which the bridegrooms of Aleppo pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, or ornaments of gold, for the bride, whose father makes some addition, according to his circumstances ; which things are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house three days before the wedding.<sup>4</sup> In Egypt, these gifts are carried on the

<sup>1</sup> Chardin's MS. note. Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxix, 24, 29. See also Odyss. lib. xxiii, l. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. vol. i, p. 284, 285.

marriage day, immediately before the bride.<sup>a</sup> To these circumstances the holy Psalmist certainly refers, in his magnificent description of Messiah's kingdom: "And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour" with gifts and offerings suited to their wealth and thy dignity.\*

The apartments of the women are counted sacred and inviolable, over all the east; it is even a crime to inquire what passes within the walls of the harem, or house of the women. Hence, it is extremely difficult to be informed of the transactions in those sequestered habitations; and a man, says Chardin, may walk an hundred days, one after another, by the house where the women are, and yet know no more what is done there than at the farther end of Tartary. This sufficiently explains the reason of Mor-decai's conduct, who "walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her."<sup>b</sup>

The Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks about their women; and though they have their harem, or women's apartment in the tent, they readily introduce their acquaintances into it, or those strangers whom they take under their special protection. Pococke's conductor, in his journey to Jerusalem, led him two or three miles to his tent, where he sat with his wife and others round a fire. The faithful Arab kept him there for greater security, the wife being always with him; no stranger ever daring to come into the women's apartment unless introduced. We discover in this custom, the reason of Jael's invitation to Sisera, when he was defeated by Barak:

<sup>a</sup> Maffet, Lett. x, p. 88.

<sup>\*</sup> Psa. xlv, 12.

<sup>b</sup> Esther ii, 11.

"Turn in, my lord, turn in to me, fear not."<sup>d</sup> She invited him to take refuge in her own division of the tent, into which no stranger might presume to enter; and where he naturally supposed himself in perfect safety.<sup>e</sup>

The married women among the orientals, are reduced to a state of great subjection.<sup>f</sup> In Barbary, they regard the civility and respect which the politer nations of Europe pay to the weaker sex, as extravagance, and so many infringements of that law of nature, which assigns to man the pre-eminence. The matrons of that country, though they are considered indeed as servants of better station, yet have the greatest share of toil and business upon their hands. While the lazy husband reposes under some neighbouring shade, and the young people of both sexes tend the flocks, the wives are occupied all the day long, either in toiling on their looms, or in grinding at the mill, or in preparing bread or other kind of farinaceous food. Nor is this all; for to finish the day, "at the time of the evening," to use the words of the sacred historian, "even at the time that women go out to draw water," they must equip themselves with a pitcher or goat's skin, and tying their sucking children behind them, trudge out in this manner, two or three miles, to fetch water. In Palestine, where the women of superior rank, at least, are treated with more respect, the married ladies commonly express their submission and regard, by kissing the beards of their husbands. To such a state of connubial society, the Psalmist seems to allude in these words: "So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty; for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him."<sup>g</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Judg. iv, 18.

<sup>e</sup> Trav. vol. ii, p. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 432.

<sup>g</sup> Psa. xlv, 11.

In the kingdom of Algiers, the women and children are charged with the care of their flocks and their herds, with providing food for the family, cutting fuel, fetching water, and when their domestic affairs allow them, with tending their silk worms. The daughters of the Turcomans in Palestine, are employed in the same mean and laborious offices. In Homer, Andromache fed the horses of her heroic husband.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, the cutting of wood was another female occupation. The very great antiquity of these customs, is confirmed by the prophet Jeremiah, who complains that the children were sent to gather wood for idolatrous purposes; and in his Lamentations, he bewails the oppressions which his people suffered from their enemies, in these terms: "They took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood."<sup>2</sup>

Hence the servile condition to which the Gibeonites were reduced by Joshua, for imposing upon him and the princes of the congregation, appears to have been much more severe than we are apt at first to suppose: "Now, therefore, ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water for the house of my God."<sup>3</sup> The bitterness of their doom did not consist in being subjected to a laborious service, for it was the usual employment of women and children; but in their being degraded from the characteristic employment of men, that of bearing arms, and condemned with their posterity for ever to the employment of females.

In ancient Greece, the women were strictly confined within their lodgings, especially virgins and widows; of whom the former, as having less experience in the world,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. lib. viii, l. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Lam.* v, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Josh.* ix, 23.

were more closely watched. Their apartment was commonly well guarded with locks and bolts; and sometimes they were so straitly confined, that they could not pass from one part to another without permission. New-married women were almost under as strict a confinement as virgins; but when once they had brought forth a child, they commonly enjoyed greater liberty. This indulgence, however, was entirely owing to the kindness of their husbands; for those who were jealous or morose, kept their wives in perpetual imprisonment. But how gentle and kind soever husbands might be, it was considered as very indecent for women to go abroad. Euripides accordingly says:

*Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ τῷ σπυρίδι λόγος.*

“ Women should keep within doors, and there talk.”<sup>\*</sup> To these long-established ideas of propriety, as well as to the intrinsic fitness of the custom, the apostle Paul undoubtedly had respect in his directions to the churches in Greece, and its vicinity: “ And withal they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also, and busy bodies, speaking things which they ought not. I will therefore, that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully.”<sup>†</sup> He draws the attention of Titus to the same subject: “ That they (the aged women) may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, discreet, chaste, *keepers at home*, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.”<sup>‡</sup> A Jewess was not so much confined; but still it was deemed

<sup>\*</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 310.

<sup>†</sup> 1 Tim. v, 14.

<sup>‡</sup> Tit. ii, 4, 5.

improper for her to appear much in public; for in Hebrew she is called (אִתְנָח) *Almah*, from a verb which signifies to hide or conceal, because she was seldom or never permitted to mingle in promiscuous company. The married women, though less restrained, were still expected to keep at home, and occupy their time in the management of their household. In the book of Proverbs, the wise man states it as a mark of a dissolute woman, that "her feet abide not in her house;"<sup>a</sup> while "every wise woman," by her industrious and prudent conduct, "buildeth her house."<sup>b</sup> "She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness."

Oriental women suffer little from parturition; for those of better condition are frequently on foot the day after delivery, and out of all confinement on the third day. They seldom call midwives, and when they do, they are sometimes delivered before they come to their assistance; the poorer sort, while they are labouring or planting, go aside, deliver themselves, wash the child, lay it in a clout, and return to work again. The same facility attended the Hebrew women in Egypt; and the assertion of the midwives seems to have been literally true: "The Hebrew women, are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them."<sup>c</sup>

When a child was brought into the world, the ancient Greeks washed it with water; in Callimachus, the mother of Jupiter, as soon as he saw the light, sought for some clear brook to purify the body of so dear a progeny:

Αἴλου διζέτω γυνὴ θάλασσαν ἢ ποταμόν

Αἴλου γὰρ χυλίσματα σιὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶν λούσσει.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Prov. vii, 11.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. xiv, 1; and ch. xxxi, 27.

<sup>c</sup> Exod. i, 19. Merier's Trans. vol. i, p. 106, 107; and Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 256.

<sup>d</sup> Hymno in Jovis, v. 14.



The next action deserving of notice, is cutting the child's navel, which was done by the nurses; whence originated the proverbial saying among the Greeks, "thy navel is not cut," meaning, you are an infant, and scarce separated from your mother. Then the nurse wrapped the child in swaddling bands, lest its tender and flexible limbs should be distorted. When a son is born, some confidential servant is usually the first to carry the glad tidings to his master, and obtains a gift to which he reckons himself entitled. But the birth of a daughter produces no rejoicings; on the contrary every one is as backward to inform the father of it, as they were forward on the birth of a son. To this circumstance the prophet alludes with great force and beauty: "Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee, making his heart very glad." Weakly or deformed children, the Lacedæmonians ordered to be cast into a deep cavern, thinking it neither for the good of the children themselves, nor for the public interest, that they should be brought up; but many persons exposed their children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them. Children were commonly exposed in their swaddling clothes, and laid in a vessel; thus, Ion was exposed by Creusa, and Moses by his mother when she could conceal him no longer. The parents frequently tied jewels and rings to the children they exposed, or any thing else by which they might afterwards discover them, if providence took care of their safety; or to encourage such as found them, to nourish and educate them if alive, or to give them human burial if dead.<sup>f</sup> These circumstances the prophet Ezekiel in-

<sup>e</sup> Jer. xx, 15. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 104.

<sup>f</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 325, 326.

roduces into his description of the mean origin, and miserable condition of God's ancient people, under the cruel oppression of Pharaoh : " Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem, Thy birth, and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan ; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite. And as for thy nativity in the day thou wast born, thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to supple thee ; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all. None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion upon thee ; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the loathing of thy person, in the day that thou wast born."<sup>s</sup> The founders of the Jewish people sojourned in the land of Canaan, where the Amorites and the Hittites bore the principal sway, without power or inheritance, or possession of any kind, except a burial place, often in fear of their jealous neighbours, and compelled to wander from one nation to another. Driven by famine from that country, they took refuge in Egypt, the open field in which they were cast. There the government, envying their prosperity, and fearing the rapid increase of their numbers, withdrew their favour and protection, reduced them to slavery, ruled over them with rigour, embittered their lives with intolerable oppression, and meditated nothing less than their utter extermination. Their male children were ordered to be strangled in the birth ; and it is not unlikely that many were, like Moses, exposed in the open field. That devoted people had no protector, none to interest themselves in their affairs, none to pity their extreme wretchedness. No care was taken of their infant state, to preserve and nurse it ; but every art was employed which a

<sup>s</sup> Ezek. xvi, 3, 4, 5.

barbarous policy could dictate, to destroy it in the very beginning of its career. The new-born infant, naked, polluted, and destitute, is not in greater peril when exposed in the open field, than was the chosen seed in the land of Egypt : " And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, live." Barrenness is still reckoned a disgrace in the east, and male children are desired beyond all other blessings, even by the lowest orders.<sup>b</sup> It is well known how strikingly this feeling characterised the Jewish women ; but in them it was probably not a merely natural sentiment, but combined with religious hopes, which taught them to look for the birth of a child, in whom all the families of the earth were to be blessed.

" It was a common practice, in almost every country, to distinguish from others of the same name, by giving him a surname derived from the trade or occupation of his parent. The English language furnishes us with examples of this in the surnames of Baker, Taylor, Carpenter, and the like ; and what is still more to the point, it is at this day the custom in some of the oriental nations, and particularly among the Arabs, to distinguish any learned and illustrious man that may chance to be born of parents who follow a particular trade or art, by giving him the name of such trade or art as a surname, although he may never have followed it himself. Thus, if a man of learning happen to be descended from a dyer or a taylor, they call him the taylor's son or the dyer's son, or frequently omitting the word son, simply the dyer or the taylor. According to this custom, the remark of the Jews,

<sup>b</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 520. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 238, 239.

in which our Saviour is termed the carpenter, may be considered as referring merely to the occupation of his reputed father: and that ~~fact~~ ought to be understood in this place,<sup>b</sup> as meaning nothing more than ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> son of the carpenter. This explanation of the term is supported by the authority of another evangelist,<sup>c</sup> who resolves it by this very phrase."<sup>d</sup>

The child, as soon as it is born, is committed to the care of a nurse; if it be a boy, the father appoints a steady man, from the age of two years, to be his keeper; and such it may be supposed were the persons who brought up Ahab's sons.<sup>e</sup> But if it be a female, it is entrusted to the care of a female nurse, who is commonly attached to it for life. When Rebecca left her father's house on being betrothed to Isaac, we read that she was accompanied by her nurse, who never left her till the day of her death; an event which is not deemed unworthy of being recorded by the pen of inspiration: "Here Deborah, Rebecca's nurse died."<sup>f</sup> This is a clear proof that nurses were sometimes held in great estimation.

When the mother dies before she has suckled her child, its life has been sometimes preserved by the milk of its father's breast. This curious fact was not unknown to Aristotle, who says, they that have a small quantity of milk, yield it in abundance when their breasts are sucked, that women who are past age by being often sucked, and even males, have yielded milk in sufficient quantity to nourish an infant.<sup>g</sup> Humboldt declares, in his *Personal*

<sup>b</sup> Luke ii, 51, 52.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. xiii, 55.

<sup>d</sup> Mosheim's Commentaries, &c. vol. i, p. 111, 112.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings x, 1. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 104, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 141.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. of Animals, book i, ch. 12; and book iii, ch. 20.

Narrative, that he saw a man, an inhabitant of *Arenas*, a village not far from Cumana, Fransisco Lozano, who suckled a child with his own milk. "The mother having fallen sick, the father, to quiet the infant, took it into his bed, and pressed it to his bosom. Lozano, then thirty-two years of age, had never remarked till that day that he had milk; but the irritation of the nipple, sucked by the child, caused the accumulation of that liquid. The milk was thick and very sweet. The father, astonished at the increased size of his breast, suckled his child two or three times a-day, during five months. We saw the certificate which had been drawn up on the spot to attest this remarkable fact, eye witnesses of which are still living (1799). They assured us, that during this suckling, the child had no other nourishment than the milk of his father. Lozano, who was not at Arenas during our journey in the missions, came to us at Cumana. He was accompanied by his son, who was then thirteen or fourteen years of age. Mr. Bonpland examined with attention the father's breast, and found it wrinkled like those of women who have given suck."<sup>a</sup> The existence of milk in the breast of a male, was known so early as the days of Job: "His breasts are full of milk, and his bones are moistened with marrow."<sup>o</sup>

On the day when the child is to be weaned, the orientals give an entertainment to their friends and relations; a custom which may be traced to a very remote antiquity; for "Abraham made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned."<sup>p</sup>

Second marriages, during the life of the first wife, are greatly opposed by ladies of superior rank; whose power-

<sup>a</sup> Personal Nar. vol. iii, p. 46, 47, 48.

<sup>o</sup> Job xxi, 24.

<sup>p</sup> Gen. xxi, 8. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 107.

ful relations, considering such a step as an insult both to herself and her family, seize the first opportunity of revenge. How forcibly this illustrates what Laban said to Jacob, when he made an agreement with him on mount Gilead : " If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, *no* man being with us (to avenge our insulted honour) see, God is witness betwixt me and thee."<sup>1</sup>

It is the custom, in many parts of the east, to carry their children astride upon the hip, with the arm round the body.<sup>2</sup> In the kingdom of Algiers, when the slaves take the children out, the boys ride upon their shoulders;<sup>3</sup> and in a religious procession, which Symes had an opportunity of seeing at Ava, the capital of the Burman empire, the first personages of rank that passed by, were three children borne astride on men's shoulders.<sup>4</sup> It is evident from these facts, that the oriental children are carried sometimes the one way, sometimes the other. Nor was the custom in reality different in Judea, though the prophet expresses himself in these terms : " They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders;" for, according to Dr. Russell, the children able to support themselves, are usually carried astride on the shoulder ; but in infancy they are carried in the arms, or awkwardly on one haunch.<sup>5</sup> Dandini tells us, that on horseback the Asiatics " carry their young children upon their shoulders with great dexterity. These children hold by the head of him who carries them, whether he be on horseback or on foot, and do not hinder

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxi, 50. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 294, note.

<sup>3</sup> Pitt's Trav. p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Syme's Hist. of Ava, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. xlix, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Hist of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 441.

him from walking, nor doing what he pleases." \* "This augments the import of the passage in Isaiah, who speaks of the Gentiles bringing children thus; so that distance is no objection to this mode of conveyance, since they may thus be brought on horseback from "among the peoples," however remote." †

In Persia, a son never sits in the presence of his father or his mother; even the king's son always stands before him; and is regarded only as the first of his servants. ‡ This is the reason that Rachel addressed her father in these words: "Let it not displease my lord, that I cannot rise up before thee." §

Illegitimacy was reputed a dishonour in ancient Greece, from the time her infant states began to submit to the control of laws and regular government. The state of public feeling in that country is indicated with great clearness by Agamemnon in his exhortation to Teucer to fight bravely; because his gallant conduct would reflect honour upon his father, for whose credit he ought to have a more tender concern, since, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, he had been carefully educated under Telamon's own eye, and in his own house. The argument proceeds upon the fact, supposed to be well known to Teucer, that the care and indulgence which he had enjoyed under his father's roof, was by no means common in those times. Besides the use of the particle *πρὸ* after *Νόθος*, clearly establishes an inequality between legitimate children and bastards: the words of Homer are:

Παῖδες γὰρ ἐμὲ Τηλέμαχος δὲ σιέειν τεύχοντο ἑσθλὰ

Καὶ ἐν ἑσθλῷ στείλῃ καρπομένον ἐν σπένδαμνῳ. IL. lib. viii, l. 281.

\* Vey, au Mont Liban, p. 72.

† Merier's Trav. vol. i, p. 286.

‡ Chalmet, vol. iii,

‡ Ibid. p. 134. Gen. xxxi, 35.

A bastard among the Greeks was even despised and exposed to public scorn, on account of his spurious origin ; for Ion, the son of Apollo by Creusa, the wife of an Athenian king, is introduced by Euripides, complaining of his hard fortune in being illegitimate :

*Ἦν ἰσχυρὸν δὴ τὸν καὶ καλῶναι, &c.*

“Then where shall wretched I intrude myself,

Who am on two accounts most desperate—

A bastard son, and of a stranger too ?

And to complete my most opprobrious fate,

Am most infirm : on these accounts shall I

Be there despised, and made a public scorn.”

In Persia the son of a concubine is never placed on a footing with their legitimate offspring ; any attempt made by parental fondness to do so would be resented by the relations of the legitimate wives, and outrage the feelings of a whole tribe.

The Jewish father seems to have bestowed as little attention on the education of his natural children as the Greek : he seems to have resigned them, in a great measure, to their own inclinations ; he neither checked their passions, nor corrected their faults, nor stored their minds with useful knowledge. This is evidently implied in these words of the apostle : “ If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons ; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not ? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.”

To restrain the licentious desires of the heart, Jehovah by an express law, fixed a stigma upon the bastard, which was not to be removed till the tenth generation ; and to

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 338.

† Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 571.

• Heb. xii, 7, 8.



shew that the precept was on no account to be violated, or suffered to fall into disuse, it is immediately repeated, "A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord."<sup>d</sup>

Persons who had no lawful issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural sons, or (by consent of their parents) the sons of other men. At Athens, foreigners being excluded from the inheritance of estates within their territory, upon their adoption, were made free of the city. The adopted person had his name enrolled in the tribe and ward of his new father; he was invested with all the privileges and rights of a legitimate son, and obliged to perform all the duties belonging to the latter. Being thus provided for in another family, he ceased to have any claim of inheritance or kindred in the family which he had left, unless he first renounced his adoption. This custom the Greeks borrowed from the eastern nations, or perhaps brought it with them from Asia, when they first crossed the Hellespont, and settled in Europe.<sup>e</sup> Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses for her son; and Mordecai received Esther into his house, and acknowledged her as his own daughter. To this ancient custom the Spirit of God sometimes alludes in the sacred Scriptures; and borrows the name by which it was distinguished, to intimate the high station and valuable privileges which the sinner attains in the day of conversion. The Father of mercies adopts his children, when he graciously admits strangers and foreigners, as all the descendants of Adam are become, into the state and relation of sons, through Jesus Christ, in whom they believe,

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxiii, 2.

<sup>e</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 342.

upon whose blood and righteousness they rely for pardon and acceptance ; " for to as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God ; even to them that believe on his name." " They are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." They are regenerated by the power of the Holy Ghost, and are brought, through his powerful and saving influences, into an affectionate and submissive temper of mind towards God as their reconciled Father. They have a right to all the privileges of sons ; they are made partakers of a divine nature ; nourished with the sincere milk of the word ; kept by his almighty power ; guarded by his ministering angels ; clothed with the garments of salvation, and adorned with the robe of righteousness. He gives them an understanding to know the gospel, and makes them wise unto salvation ; he visits their sins with stripes, and their iniquities with chastisements ; he admits them to fellowship with himself, and with his son Jesus Christ ; he makes all things work together for their good ; he guides them with his counsel while they live, and afterwards receives them to glory.

But while some, by adoption, are raised from a state of meanness and penury to sudden affluence and honour, others by a severe reverse are depressed into long or perpetual bondage. The fate of war, a long series of domestic calamities, the fraud or violence of a too powerful neighbour, or other causes, have in almost all ages, involved no inconsiderable portion of the human race in the miseries inseparable from a state of servitude. Among the oriental nations, slavery seems to have existed from the remotest times. The holiest and the most benevolent of men did not consider it as a crime to detain their fel-

low-creatures in this degrading condition. The servants of Abraham appear to have been all of this class ; and the privilege of keeping slaves was extended to his posterity by the laws of Moses. The number of slaves, or servants as they are called in our translation, seems never to have been very great at any period of the Jewish history, because the moderate extent of their inheritances, and their own frugal and industrious habits, rendered a numerous establishment unnecessary ; yet some Israelites, we are told by the inspired writer, had not less than twenty servants ; and the number in other families was perhaps still greater. The slaves in the Hebrew commonwealth were either Jews by birth, or Gentiles in descent, that became afterwards proselytes to the religion of their masters, or at least renounced idolatry, and conformed to the precepts of Noah. The laws which regulated the acquisition and treatment of slaves, are stated with sufficient clearness and precision in the Mosaic code, and have been explained at great length by Lewis and other writers on Jewish antiquities. In Greece, the unhappy beings that were reduced to a state of slavery, were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their masters, who were thought to have as good a title to them as to their lands and estates. In the land of promise, they were viewed in the same light ; the very bodies of those slaves that were obtained by purchase from the surrounding nations, or by conquest, and of their children, they had a right to bequeath after their death ; and had the same power and dominion over them as they had over their lands, their goods, or their cattle. A servant, says the Talmud, is like a farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with money, or with a writing, or by some service done, as a pledge or pawn. A servant bought by service, looses the buyer's shoe ; carries

such things after him as are necessary for the bath ; he unclothes him, washes, anoints, rubs, dresses him, puts on his shoes, and lifts him up from the earth. But mean as these services are, the humble and self-denied precursor of Jesus did not think himself worthy to perform them to his Lord : " He that cometh after me is mightier than I ; whose shoes I am not worthy to bear."<sup>d</sup> These were the offices of the meanest slave, which that holy man thought himself unworthy to perform towards his Saviour ; so high was his admiration of his character, and so lowly were the thoughts he entertained of himself.

It was a general custom in the east to brand their slaves in the forehead, as being the most exposed ; sometimes in other parts of the body. The common way of stigmatizing was by burning the member with a red hot iron, marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be more conspicuous. Slaves were often branded with marks, or letters, as a punishment of their offences ; but the most common design of these marks was to distinguish them if they should desert their masters. For the same reason, it was common to brand their soldiers, but with this difference, that while slaves were marked in the hand, with the name, or some peculiar character belonging to their masters ; soldiers were marked in the hand with the name or character of their general. In the same manner, it was the custom to stigmatize the worshippers and votaries of some false gods. Lucian affirms, that the worshippers of the Syrian goddess, were all branded with certain marks, some in the palms of their hands, and others in their necks. To this practice may

<sup>d</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 296, 297.

be traced the custom, which became so prevalent among the Syrians, thus to stigmatize themselves; and Theodoret is of opinion, that the Jews were forbidden to brand their bodies with stigmata, because the idolaters, by that ceremony, used to consecrate themselves to their false deities. The marks employed on these occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the name of the god; sometimes his particular ensign, as the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the ivy of Bacchus: or they marked themselves with some mystical number, which described the name of the god. Thus the sun, who was denoted by the number DC VIII. is said to been represented by these two numeral letters XH. These three ways of stigmatizing, are all expressed by the apostle John in the book of Revelation: "And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast, or the number of his name."<sup>e</sup> The followers of the beast received a mark in their right hand, because they ranged themselves under his banners, ready to support his interests, and extend his dominions with fire and sword; they bore the name of their general, the bishop of Rome, *Λατinas*, and the number of his name, which is 666. But they also received the mark of slaves on their foreheads, to denote that they

<sup>e</sup> Rev. xiii, 16. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 65, 66.—The Hindoos, after ablutions, receive in their forehead the mark either of Visnou or Seva, horizontal or perpendicular, according to the sect they profess. It is made from a composition of sandal wood, turmeric, and cow-dung. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 286.—This is a holy ceremony which has been adopted in all ages by the eastern nations, however differing in religious profession. Vol. iii, p. 15. See also Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. v, p. 82.

were his absolute property, whom he arrogated a right to dispose of according to his pleasure; who could neither buy nor sell, live with comfort, nor die in peace, without his permission. But they were not only soldiers and slaves; they were also devotees, that regarded and acknowledged him as a god, and even exalted him above all that is called God and is worshipped; in token of which, they received a mark in the palm of their hand, or in their foreheads. The practice of marking the soldier and the devotee, although of great antiquity, may be traced to one origin, to a custom still more ancient, of marking a slave with some peculiar stigma, to prevent him from deserting his master's service, or rendering his discovery and restoration certain and easy. To this custom the prophet Ezekiel refers: "Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof."<sup>f</sup> Another instance may be mentioned from the Revelation: "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads."<sup>g</sup> In both instances, it is the symbol of protection and security both to the persons and privileges of the people of God.

The price of a slave, according to Maimonides, was thirty pieces of silver, whether male or female, without any regard to sex, or shape, or size, or intrinsic value. And this, it will be recollected, was the price at which the traitor sold the Redeemer of our souls; it was a part of the deep humiliation to which he submitted, to be valued by his betrayers and murderers only at the price of a Gentile slave, the meanest and the most despised of the

<sup>f</sup> Ezek. ix, 4.

<sup>g</sup> Rev. vii, 3.

human race. Slaves in the east, are often sold for much less in time of war. When the Tartars invaded Poland, they sold the children of that unhappy kingdom for a crown. In Mingrelia, they sell them for provisions and wine. It was a part of the misery which the people of Israel had to suffer for their iniquities, to see their children also sold for a trifle: "They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink."<sup>a</sup>

The people of Israel, like all the nations of antiquity, had the power of life and death over their slaves; for slavery proceeded from the right of conquest, when the victors, instead of putting their enemies to death, chose rather to give them their lives, that they might have the benefit of their services. Hence it was supposed that the conqueror always reserved the power of taking away their lives, if they committed any thing worthy of death; and that he acquired the same power over their children, because they had never been born, if he had not spared the father, and transmitted it when he alienated his slave. Such is the foundation of the absolute power claimed by the orientals over the unhappy persons whom they detained in slavery. It must be granted, that such reasons never can justify the exorbitant power of a slave-holder,

<sup>a</sup> Joel iii, 3. Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 392.—"Parents in a time of scarcity often sell their children, and even themselves, for bread in eastern countries; and has been practised from the time of Joseph to the present period. This kind of slavery was unknown among the Jews: the Mosaic law, with the sweetest breathings of humanity, thus enjoins the Israelites: "If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: but as a hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee," &c. Lev. xxv, 39. Forbee's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 172.

or even his right to deprive his fellow-creature of his liberty, who has been guilty of no adequate crime. The claims of Israel rested upon different grounds, the positive grant of Jehovah himself, who certainly has a right to dispose of his creatures as he pleases. But among that people, the power of the master was limited by laws, which secured the safety and comfort of the slave, perhaps as much as that condition could possibly admit. Though the Israelitish master had the power of life and death, it has been alleged by some writers that he seldom abused it; for his interest obliged him to preserve his slave, who made a part of his riches. This is the reason of the law, That he should not be punished who had smitten a servant, if he continued alive a day or two after. He is his money, says the lawgiver, to shew that the loss of his property was deemed a sufficient punishment; and it may be presumed, in this case, that the master only intended his correction. But if the slave died under the strokes, it was to be supposed the master had a real design to kill him, for which the law commanded him to be punished. But considerations of interest are too feeble a barrier to resist the impulse of passions, inflamed by the consciousness and exercise of absolute power over a fellow-mortal. The wise and benevolent restraints imposed upon a master of slaves, by the law of Moses, clearly prove that he very often abused his power, or was in extreme danger of doing so; for laws are not made for the good, but for the evil doer.

The oriental slave must not presume to look his master in the face; he stands before him with his eyes cast on the ground, or directed to the hand of his master, watching the sign which is to regulate his movements. To this



profound reverence and solicitous attention of the bondman in the presence of his owner, the Psalmist alludes, when he describes his feelings and conduct in the presence of his God: "Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens. Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us."<sup>1</sup>

The slaves of the Greeks and Romans were treated with great severity, and very often with the most revolting injustice and cruelty. One of the most common punishments which that wretched class of mankind had to endure from the hands of their merciless lords, was to be whipped through the circus, bearing a gallows or cross; which strongly reminds us of the sufferings to which our blessed Lord was subjected on our account. Despised by the Gentiles, and abhorred by the Jews, as the vilest of malefactors, he was, like one of the meanest slaves, compelled to bear his cross, till he sunk under its weight. His disciples are required to submit to similar treatment for his sake: "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."

But, though the slaves in the oriental regions were treated with more severity than hired servants, their condition was by no means reckoned so degrading as in modern times, among the civilized nations of the west. The slave-master in the east, when he has no son to inherit his wealth, and even when the fortune he has to bequeath is very considerable, frequently gives his daughter to one of his slaves. The wealthy people of Barbary, when they

<sup>1</sup> Psa. cxiii, 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> In Hindostan "slaves who conduct themselves well find their chains

have no children, purchase young slaves, educate them in their own faith, and sometimes adopt them for their own children.<sup>k</sup> This custom, so strange and unnatural, according to our modes of thinking, may be traced to a very remote antiquity; it seems to have prevailed so early as the days of Abraham, who says of one of his slaves, "One born in mine house is mine heir:" although Lot, his brother's son, resided in his neighbourhood, and he had besides many relations in Mesopotamia. In the courts of eastern monarchs, it is well known, that slaves frequently rise to the highest honours of the state. The greatest men in the Turkish empire are originally slaves, reared and educated in the seraglio. When Maillet was in Egypt, there was an eunuch who had raised three of his slaves to the rank of princes; and he mentions a Bey who exalted five or six of his slaves to the same office with himself.<sup>l</sup> With these facts before us, we have no reason to question the veracity of the inspired writers, who record the extraordinary advancement of Joseph in the house of Pharaoh, and of Daniel, under the monarch of Babylon. These sudden elevations from the lowest stations in society, from the abject condition of a slave, or the horrors of a dungeon, to the highest and most honourable offices of state, are quite consistent with the established manners and customs of those countries.

light, are treated like near relations, and are admitted to great confidence; and obtain their freedom, and marry their masters' daughters." Forbes's *Orient. Mem.* vol. iii, p. 167.—House-born slaves are considered in a light hardly less respectable than the relations of the family. *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 456, note; and vol. ii, p. 286.

<sup>k</sup> Forbes's *Orient. Mem.* vol. iv, p. 201. Harmer's *Obs.* vol. iv, p. 298.

<sup>l</sup> Lett. xi, p. 118; and Lett. xii, p. 175.

## CHAP. VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE CONTRACTS  
AND COVENANTS OF THE EASTERN NATIONS.

*Contracts at first proposed merely in words.—A written instrument, the invention of a later age.—Concluded in the gate of the city.—Reckoned sufficient at first, if the covenant was made in the presence of all the people.—Ceremony of striking hands introduced.—Covenants ratified by a present.—By oath.—Touching the altar.—Standing before it, the general practice.—Swearing by putting the hand under the thigh.—By joining hands, uttering at the same time a curse upon the false swearers.—Swearing by the life or head of the king.—To swear by Jerusalem, a form in use among the Jews.—Ratification by blood.—By eating of the same bread.—By salt.—By presenting the party with some article of their own dress.—Written obligations cancelled in different ways.*

THE earliest contracts of which we read in the sacred volume, seem to have been proposed merely in words. Of this kind, for any thing we can discover, was the agreement between Isaac and Abimelech the king of Gerar.\* A written instrument was the invention of an age long posterior; for the first contract of this kind, of which we read in the Scriptures, is in the book of Jeremiah, and relates to a purchase of land. The law of Moses prescribes no writing, except in cases of divorce. But though it is presumable, that written contracts were not introduced till an advanced period of the Jewish history, we are not to suppose that such transactions were nugatory or insecure. The public manner in which they were com-

\* Gen. xxvi, 29.

monly managed and concluded, and perhaps the general prevalence of simplicity and integrity in the intercourse of life, rendered them in most cases, perfectly safe. In the patriarchal age, and for a long time afterwards, the gate of the city was the place where business was transacted.<sup>b</sup> Abraham purchased his burying-place in the presence of all those that entered in at the gate of Hebron. Hamor and his son Shechem, went to the gate of their city, when they endeavoured to persuade their people to make an alliance with Jacob and his family. The way in which such transactions were managed in those primitive times, is beautifully described in the history of Ruth. Boaz, wishing to prevail with his kinsman, who had the right of redemption, either to perform the part of a kinsman to the wife of his deceased relative, or cede his right to himself, went up to the gate, and sat down there; he then called his relation to sit down, and took some of the elders of the place as witnesses; after they were all seated, he explained the matter, and obtained the acknowledgement he wanted, with all the formality prescribed by the law, which was to pull off his shoe; and concluded the business by taking the elders and all the people, who from curiosity or interest had gathered about them, as witnesses of the transaction. We read of no writing on the occasion, yet was the transfer made, and complete security given, by the acknowledged testimony of the elders and people that were present. It was at first reckoned sufficient, if the covenant was made in the presence of all the people; but in process of time, the ceremony of striking hands was introduced at the conclusion of a bargain, which has maintained its ground among the

<sup>b</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 456.

customs of civilized nations down to the present time. To strike hands with another, was the emblem of agreement among the Greeks under the walls of Troy; for Nestor complains in a public assembly of the chiefs, that the Trojans had violated the engagements which they had sanctioned by libations of wine, and giving their right hands:

*Συνδοὶς ἐμπεσόντες, καὶ δεξιὰς ἡς ἐπαυρίσαν.* *Il. lib. ii, l. 341.*

And in another passage, Agamemnon protests that the agreement which the Trojans had ratified by the blood of lambs, libations of wine, and their right hands, could not in any way be set aside.<sup>c</sup> The Roman faith was plighted in the same way; for in Virgil, when Dido marked from her watch-towers the Trojan fleet setting forward with balanced sails, she exclaimed, is this the honour, the faith, “*En dextra fidesque.*”<sup>d</sup> The wise man alludes often to this mode of ratifying a bargain, which shews, it was in general practice among the people: “My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art snared with the words of thy mouth.”<sup>e</sup> Traces of this custom may be discovered in ages long anterior to that in which Solomon flourished; for Job, in his solemn appeal to God from the tribunal of men, thus expresses himself: “Lay down now, put me in surety with thee; who is he that will strike hands with me?”<sup>f</sup> The covenant which Abraham made with the king of Gerar, was ratified by a present of SEVEN EWE LAMBS. The interesting ceremony is thus described: “Abraham set seven ewe lambs of the flock by themselves, and Abimelech said to Abraham, what mean these seven ewe lambs, which thou hast set by themselves? And he said,

<sup>c</sup> *Il. lib. iv, l. 159.*

<sup>e</sup> *Prov. vi, 1; see also ch. xvii, 18, and xxii, 26.*

<sup>d</sup> *En. iv, l. 597.*

<sup>f</sup> *Job xvii, 3.*

for these seven ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me that I have digged this well." This was accompanied with the solemnity of an oath, for it is added, "Wherefore he called that place *Beershebah*, because there they swore both of them. Thus they made a covenant at Beershebah."<sup>a</sup> The same form of ratification continues to be used among the Arabian shepherds; of which the following instance is given by Mr. Bruce: "Medicines and advice being given on my part; faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat, and SEVEN SHEEP were carried down to the boat; nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country, is just as great an affront as coming into the presence of a superior without any present at all."<sup>b</sup>

Contracts were frequently ratified by oath. The common form of swearing was by lifting up the right hand; it was the form which Abraham used, and was so general in his time, that the phrase, to lift up the right hand, was equivalent to swearing by God: "And Abram said unto the king of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich."<sup>c</sup> In the same form Jehovah was pleased to bind himself by oath: "For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever." So when he promised to bring the people of Israel into Canaan, he is said to *lift up his hand*.<sup>d</sup> This form of swearing, by stretching out and lifting up the

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxi, 28.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xiv, 22.

<sup>b</sup> Trav. vol. ii, p. 52, 87.

<sup>d</sup> Exod. vi, 8. Neh. ix, 15.

right hand, the Greeks and Romans derived from the nations of Asia. Thus Agamemnon swears in Homer :

— *ο ουρανου ανεγχεσθαι δεξιαν.* *Il. lib. vii, l. 412.<sup>b</sup>*

“ To all the gods his sceptre he uplifts.” In the same manner, Virgil makes the king of Latium plight his faith to Æneas and his followers: “ Then thus Latinus raising his eyes to heaven, succeeds, and to the stars stretches forth his right hand :”

“ *Susciptens coelam, tenditque ad sidera dextram.*”

*Æn. xii, l. 196.*

To give additional solemnity to his oath, he touched the altar before which he stood :

“ *Tango aras, mediosque ignes et numina testor.*”

Bishop Patrick alleges, that it was the custom of all nations to touch the altar when they made a solemn oath, calling God to witness the truth of what they said, and to punish them if they did not speak the truth ; and he supposes, that Solomon alludes to this practice, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple: “ If any man trespass against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him, to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house.” But the royal suppliant says not one word about touching the altar ; but clearly refers to the general practice of standing before it, for his words literally are : And the oath come (*לפני מזבדך*) before the face of thine altar. In imitation of God's ancient people, many of the surrounding nations, among whom Livy and other celebrated writers of antiquity mention the Athenians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, were accustomed to stand before the altar when they made oath ;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>b</sup> See another instance, *Il. lib. xix, l. 254, 255.*

<sup>1</sup> *Cic. Fam. vii, l. 12. Liv. xxi, 45 ; xxi, 53.*

but it does not appear they laid their hand upon it, and by consequence, no argument from the sacred text, nor even from the customs of these nations, can be drawn for the superstitious practice of laying the hand upon the gospels and kissing them, instead of the solemn form authorised by God himself, of lifting up the right hand to heaven. It is pretended, however, by some writers, that to put the hand upon the throne, was in some countries a ceremony that attended a solemn oath; and that Moses alludes to this custom in these words: "Because the Lord has sworn, (or literally, because the hand of the Lord is upon the throne,) that he will have war with Amalek, from generation to generation."<sup>m</sup> But these words are susceptible of a very different meaning, which has not escaped the notice of some valuable commentators: For he said, Because his hand hath been *against* the throne of the Lord, therefore, will he have war with Amalek, from generation to generation. The prophet is there giving a reason of the perpetual war which Jehovah had just proclaimed against that devoted race; their hand had been against the throne of the Lord, that is, they had attacked the people whom he had chosen, and among whom he had planted his throne; disregarding, or probably treating with contempt, the miraculous signs of the divine presence which led the way, and warranted the operations of Israel; they attempted to stop their progress, and defeat the promise of Heaven; therefore they dared to lift their hand against the throne of God himself, and were for their presumption, doomed to the destruction which they intended for others. Hence, the custom of laying the hand upon the gospels, as an appeal to God, if not the

<sup>m</sup> Ezod. xvii, 16.



contrivance of modern superstition, is derived from the practice of some obscure Gentile nation, and has no claim whatever to a more reputable origin.

A very ancient form of swearing was by putting the hand under the thigh. After this manner, the patriarch Abraham took an oath of his servant before he sent him to Padan-aram, to procure a wife for his son Isaac. It has been supposed, that Abraham required this, because his eyes were so dim with age, that he could not discern whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, that he was old and well stricken in age. But the sacred historian makes no mention of the dimness of Abraham's sight, nor did the patriarch himself assign this as the reason of his command. It is more probable, that if it was not a distinct form of swearing, it was a very common part of the solemnity, an idea which the words of the text appear to favour: "Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had; Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh; and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth." Under the same form, the patriarch Jacob long afterwards took an oath of his beloved son Joseph, to bury him with his fathers, in the land of Canaan.<sup>a</sup> It seems therefore, to have been a circumstance required in swearing, by the established custom of those times. This conclusion receives no little support from the present mode of swearing among the Mahomedan Arabs, that live in tents, which nearly corresponds with the patriarchal form; they put their left hand underneath, and their right hand over the Koran. Whether in the patriarchal ages, they

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxiv, 2, 3; and xlvii, 29.

placed one hand under the thigh, and the other above it, cannot now be ascertained : it is not improbable, they put the left hand under the thigh, and stretched out the right hand to heaven. Mr. Harmer thinks, that the posterity of the patriarchs being described as coming out of the thigh, this ceremony was expressive of their faith in the promises of Jehovah, to bless all the nations of the earth by means of one that was to descend from Abraham.<sup>o</sup>

A very solemn method of taking an oath in the east is by joining hands, uttering at the same time a curse upon the false swearer. To this form the wise man probably alludes in that proverb : " Though hand join in hand"—though they ratify their agreement by oath—" the wicked shall not be unpunished, but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered."<sup>p</sup> This form of swearing is still observed in Egypt and the vicinity ; for when Mr. Bruce was at Shekh Ammer, he entreated the protection of the governor in prosecuting his journey, when the great people, who were assembled, came, and after joining hands, repeated a kind of prayer, of about two minutes long, by which they declared themselves and their children accursed, if ever they lifted up their hands against him in the tell, or field, in the desert ; or in case that he or his should fly to them for refuge, if they did not protect them at the risk of their lives, their families, and their fortunes ; or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them.<sup>q</sup> The inspired writer has recorded an instance of this form of swearing in the history of Jehu : " And when he was departed

<sup>o</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iv, p. 248.

<sup>p</sup> Prov. xi, 21.

<sup>q</sup> Bruce's *Travels*, vol. i, p. 148.

thence, he lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him, and he saluted him; and said to him, Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart; and Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand: And he gave him his hand, and he took him up unto him into the chariot."<sup>r</sup> Another striking instance is quoted by Calmet from Ockley's history of the Saracens. 'Telha, just before he died, asked one of Ali's men if he belonged to the emperor of the faithful; and being informed that he did, "Give me then, said he, your hand, that I may put mine in it, and by this action renew the oath of fidelity which I have already made to Ali."<sup>s</sup>

It was very common among the orientals to swear by the head or the life of the king:<sup>t</sup> Joseph, improperly yielding to the fashion of the country, swore by the life of Pharaoh; and this oath is still used in various regions of the east. According to Mr. Harway, the most sacred oath among the Persians is by the head of the king:<sup>u</sup> and Thevenot asserts, that to swear by the king's head is, in Persia, more authentic, and of greater credit, than if they swore by all that is most sacred in heaven and upon earth.<sup>v</sup> In the time of our Lord, it seems to have been a common practice among the Jews to swear by this form; for, said he to the multitudes, "Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black."

To swear and vow by Jerusalem, was another form in use among the Jews: "As the altar, as the temple, as Jerusalem," are expressions frequently to be met with in

<sup>r</sup> 2 Kings x, 15.

<sup>s</sup> Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>t</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 632.

<sup>u</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 313.

<sup>v</sup> Trav. part ii, p. 97.

their writings. In the Gemara, it is, "He that says as Jerusalem, does not say any thing till he has made his vow concerning a thing which is offered up in Jerusalem." \* That which was offered up in Jerusalem, was the corban, or gift on the altar, and was one of those oaths which, in our Saviour's time, the scribes and Pharisees reckoned most sacred. If any swore by the altar, it was nothing ; but if any swore by the oblation on the altar, he was bound to perform it. The law of God, according to those corrupt teachers, lost its power to command obedience, when the oath by corban happened to be in opposition. Thus, if a man swore by corban that he would not help or relieve his parents, they taught that he was not bound by the divine law. This is the express doctrine of their talmud. Every one ought to honour his father and his mother, except he has vowed the contrary ; and it is well known that the Jews often did, by solemn vows and oaths, bind themselves never to do good to the persons whom they named. An execration, or conditional curse, was also annexed to their oaths, which was sometimes expressed in this manner : " If I do not so, then the Lord do so to me, and more also." Sometimes the execration is understood, as in the declaration of Abraham to the king of Sodom : " I have sworn, if I take from a thread to a shoe-latchet ;" supply the execration, " then let the Lord do so to me, and more also." The Psalmist uses the same elliptical phrase : " If they shall enter into my rest ;" that is, " I have sworn that they shall not enter into my rest." These remarks enable us to give a clear and satisfactory exposition of that difficult passage in the gospel of Matthew : " But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his

\* Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. ii, No. 1172.

mother it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me." By the oath corban, if thou receive any benefit from me, then let God do so to me, and more also; or more simply, I swear by corban, (the gift of the altar) that thou shalt have no benefit from me. This exposition is equally agreeable to the scope of the passage, and to their form of swearing; and shews, in a very plain and convincing way, how the Jews made void the law of God by their traditions. The divine command is, "Honour thy father and thy mother;" help them in their need, relieve them in their want; but the scribes and Pharisees said, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, that asked his assistance, By corban thou shalt receive no gift from me, he was free from the commanding power of the law.

The ancients commonly ratified their federal engagements by the blood of a sacrifice; when they cut the victim into two parts, placing each half upon an altar, and causing the contracting parties to pass between the pieces, to intimate that so should they be cut asunder, who violated the agreement. In this manner was the covenant ratified, which God made with Abram and his family. And he said unto him, "Take me an heifer of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove and a young pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another, but the birds divided he not --- And it came to pass that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, that passed between those pieces."<sup>x</sup> Such were the awful symbols by which the Supreme Being was graciously pleased to pledge his veracity, for the

<sup>x</sup> Gen. xvi, 9; and x, 17. Math. xv, 5.

accomplishment of his promise to the patriarch and his posterity: "In the same day, the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." The same awful ceremonies were observed by the people of Israel at the renovation of this covenant; for the prophet Jeremiah threatened, in the name of the Lord, "I will give the men who have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof. The princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf." From this rite proceeded the phrase so common in the Old Testament Scriptures, "to cut a covenant." Several traces of this mode of ratifying a covenant, have been discovered in the customs of different nations, in all probability the remains of that ancient and divinely appointed observance recorded in the history of Abraham. Homer has the expression, of which the reference cannot easily be mistaken, *Ορκία πιστὰ τέμνοντες*;\* "having cut faithful oaths;" which Eustathius explains, by saying, "They were oaths relating to important matters, and were made by the division of the victim." Virgil alludes to the same practice in these lines:

——— "Jovis ante aras paterasque tenentes  
Stabant et cæsa jungebant foedera porca." *Æn.* lib. ii, l. 640.

"The princes, sheathed in armour, and with the sacred goblets in their hands, stood before the altars of Jove,

\* *Jer.* xxxiv, 18.

† *Il.* lib. ii, l. 124; and lib. iii, l. 295. *Æn.* lib. xii, l. 292.

and having sacrificed a sow, concluded a league." And Agamemnon, to confirm his oath to Achilles; divided a victim in the midst, placed the pieces opposite to each other, and holding his sword reeking with the blood of the victim, passed between the separated pieces.\*

To eat of the same bread has been reckoned in every age a sure pledge of inviolable friendship. Pythagoras commanded his disciples not to break bread,<sup>b</sup> because, say they, the bond of friendship is not to be broken; and all friends should assemble round the same cake. A cake of bread, observes Curtius, was the most sacred pledge of amity among the Macedonians.<sup>c</sup> Nothing was reckoned baser, in the east, than to offer violence to those, at whose table they had been entertained. Euripides accordingly makes Hecuba bitterly inveigh against Polyinnestor, the murderer of her son, that he had often taken his seat at the same table with her, and enjoyed the rites of hospitality among her friends:

*Καὶνὴ τραπέζης πολλὰν τυχὼν ἐμὴν*

*Ίσως ἐν αἵματι πρῶτα τοῖσι μοι φίλοι.*

And Æschines, in his oration against Demosthenes, reproaches him especially because he had accused him, though they had eaten at the same table and joined in the same sacred ceremonies. In perfect harmony with these views and feelings, which seem to have been derived from a very remote antiquity, the holy Psalmist complains of Abitophel: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me."<sup>d</sup> And a greater than David, in

\* Calmet, vol. iii. Iliad. lib. xix, l. 260.

<sup>b</sup> *Τοι ἀρτοι μὴ καταγονται*; bread is not to be broken.

<sup>c</sup> Curtius, lib. viii, cap. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Psa. xli, 9.

reference to Judas Iscariot ; “ I speak not of you all : I know whom I have chosen : but that the scripture may be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.”<sup>e</sup> The traitor had lived for more than three years in the relations of peace and amity with his Lord : he had been called to the apostolic office, and had been admitted to the same familiar intercourse with his divine Master, as the other disciples had enjoyed. These invaluable privileges greatly aggravated his crime ; but his eating bread at his Master’s table, while he was plotting against his life, was the crowning point of his enormous wickedness.

The orientals were accustomed also to ratify their federal engagements by salt. This substance was, among the ancients, the emblem of friendship and fidelity, and therefore used in all their sacrifices and covenants. It is a sacred pledge of hospitality which they never venture to violate. Numerous instances occur of travellers in Arabia, after being plundered and stript by the wandering tribes of the desert, claiming the protection of some civilized Arab, who after receiving him into his tent, and giving him salt, instantly relieves his distress, and never forsakes him till he has placed him in safety.<sup>f</sup> An agreement, thus ratified, is called in Scripture, “ a covenant of salt.” The obligation which this symbol imposes on the mind of an oriental, is well illustrated by the Baron du Tott in the following anecdote : One who was desirous of his acquaintance, promised in a short time to return. The baron had already attended him half way down the

<sup>e</sup> John xiii, 18.

<sup>f</sup> Forbes’s Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 397. Orme’s Hist. of the Military Transactions, &c. vol. ii, p. 204.



staircase, when stopping, and turning briskly to one of his domestics, Bring me directly, said he, some bread and salt. What he requested was brought; when, taking a little salt between his fingers, and putting it with a mysterious air on a bit of bread, he eat it with a devout gravity, assuring du Tott he might now rely on him.<sup>c</sup> The Greeks and Romans uniformly sprinkled the head of the victim which was ready to be offered in sacrifice, with a salt cake, or with bran or meal, mixed with salt. Thus, in Virgil, the crafty Greek harangued the Trojans: "For me the sacred rites were prepared, and the salted cake and fillets to bind about my temples."

——— " mihi sacra parari

*Et salas fruges, et circum tempora vittas.* *Æn.* lib. ii, l. 133.

And when the Greeks, before Troy, sent back the daughter of Chryses with a hecatomb to appease the wrath of Apollo, the ambassadors, immediately after presenting the young lady to her father, placed the splendid sacrifice for the god, arranged in proper order, before the altar; and having purified their hands in water, took up the salted cake:

*Χειρῶν δ' ἅπασα καὶ σολοχὺς ἀνίστατο.* *Il.* lib. i, l. 440.

Another mode of ratification, was by presenting the party with some article of their own dress; and if they were warriors, by exchanging their arms.<sup>d</sup> The greatest honour which a king of Persia can bestow upon a subject, is to cause himself to be disrobed, and his habit given to the favoured individual.<sup>e</sup> The custom was probably derived from the Jews; for when Jonathan made his cove-

<sup>c</sup> Mem. vol. i, p. 252, 253. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 52.

<sup>d</sup> *Iliad.* lib. vi, l. 236.

<sup>e</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 298, 299. D'Herbelet, vol. ii, p. 20.

nant with David; "he stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments; even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle."<sup>j</sup> In a similar way, Julius, and the other Trojan chiefs confirmed their solemn engagements to Nisus and Euryalus: "Thus weeping over him, he speaks; at the same time divests his shoulders of his gilded sword—On Nisus Mneætheus bestows the skin and spoil of a grim shaggy lion; trusty Alethes exchanges with him his helmet."<sup>k</sup> This instance proves, that among the ancients, to part with one's girdle was a token of the greatest confidence and affection; in some cases it was considered as an act of adoption. The savage tribes of North America, that are certainly of Asiatic origin, ratify their covenants and leagues in the same way; in token of perfect reconciliation, they present a belt of wampum.

Written obligations were cancelled in different ways; one was by blotting or drawing a line across them, and another by striking them through with a nail; in both cases the bond was rendered useless, and ceased to be valid. These customs the apostle applies to the death of Christ in his epistle to the Colossians: "Blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross."<sup>l</sup> A rod was sometimes broken, as a sign that the covenant into which they had entered was nullified. A trace of this ancient custom is still discernible in our own country: the lord steward of England, when he resigns his commission, breaks his wand of office, to denote the termination of his power. Agreeably to this practice, the prophet Zechariah brake the staves of beauty,

<sup>j</sup> 1 Sam. xviii, 4.

<sup>k</sup> *Æneid*. lib. ix, l. 395, 396.

<sup>l</sup> Col. ii, 14.

and bands, the symbols of God's covenant with ancient Israel, to shew them, that in consequence of their numerous and long-continued iniquities, he withdrew his distinguishing favour, and no longer acknowledged them as his peculiar people. This is the exposition given by the prophet himself: "And I took my staff, even beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people; and it was broken in that day. Then I cut asunder my other staff, even bands, that I might break the brotherwood between Judah and Israel."<sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Zech. xi, 7.

## CHAP. VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE VARIOUS MODES  
IN WHICH THE ORIENTALS EXPRESSED THEIR RESPECT  
FOR ONE ANOTHER.

*Difference of ranks maintained with scrupulous exactness.—Presents, a common mark of esteem.—No access to the great without a present.—Presents of different kinds and value.—Presents sent, even to persons in private station.—Sent with great parade.—Taxes levied under the form of presents.—Often a token of submission by the king who receives them.—Employed to pervert judgment.—As subsidies.—Salutations at meeting.—Attitudes and expressions of respect, very diversified and servile.—Prostration.—Kissing the hand.—Taking hold of and kissing the beard.—Kissing the shoulder.—A rider expected to dismount when he meets a superior.—Sitting upon the heels.—Sitting on a seat.—Sitting in a corner.—Ointments and perfumes presented as a mark of distinction.—Changing the dress.—Right to use a gold cup in drinking.—Caffetan.—Vestments given.—Persons of rank ride on horseback.—Condescensions of the great.—Giving peculiar names.—Putting a ring on the finger of a favourite.—Applying the hand to the mouth, a mark of respect.—Music and dancing.—Preparing the way.—A spear carried in the hand, a mark of honour.—A bracelet, a badge of power.—Chains of silver and gold.—A seat by a pillar.—Signet.—Expressions of reverence, homage, and submission, approach to religious veneration.—Compliments addressed to princes extremely hyperbolic.—Strewing flowers and branches of trees in the way of conquerors.—Weighing the Mogul in a balance.—Orientals kissed the fringe of their sovereign's robe.—Mode of presenting a petition or a letter to their princes.—The king's horse.—Etiquette at the Persian court.—Palanquin and chariot of an Indian prince.—Respect shewn to eastern princesses.—Procession of an Arabian princess.—The horn, a symbol of strength and power.—Expressions of dislike; cutting off the beard.—Talking disrespectfully of the beard.—Sending an open letter.—Shaking the lap.—Spitting before one, and especially in his face.*

IN no quarter of the world, is the difference of ranks in society maintained with more scrupulous exactness than

in Asia. The intercourse among the various classes of mankind, which originate in the unequal distributions of creating wisdom, or providential arrangement, is regulated by laws, which, like those of the Medes and Persians, suffer almost no change from the lapse of time, or the fluctuation of human affairs. To these laws, which have extended their influence far beyond the limits of the east, the sacred writers make frequent allusions. No mark of esteem is more common through all the oriental regions, none more imperiously required by the rules of good breeding, than a present. When Mr. Maundrell and his party waited upon Ostan, the basha of Tripoli, he was obliged to send his present before him to secure a favourable reception. It is even reckoned uncivil in that country, to make a visit without an offering in the hand. The nobility, and officers of government, expect it as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and even defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. So common is the custom, that in familiar intercourse among persons of inferior station, they seldom neglect to bring a flower, an orange, a few dates or radishes, or some such token of respect, to the person whom they visit. In Egypt the custom is equally prevalent: the visits of that people, which are very frequent in the course of the year, are always preceded by presents of various kinds, according to their station and property. So essential to human and civil intercourse are presents considered in the east, that, says Mr. Bruce, "whether it be dates or diamonds, they are so much a part of their manners, that without them an inferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his superior for his favour or pro-

tection.”<sup>a</sup> Sir John Chardin affirms, that “the custom of making presents to the great, was universal in the east; and that every thing is received even by the great lords of the country, fruit, pullets, a lamb. Every one gives what is most at hand, and has a relation to his profession; and those who have no particular profession give money. As it is accounted an honour to receive presents of this sort, they receive them in public; and even choose to do it when they have most company.” “Throughout the east,” says Du Tott, “gifts are always the mark of honour.”<sup>b</sup> This custom is, perhaps, one of the most ancient in the world. Solomon evidently alludes to it in that proverb: “A man’s gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men.”<sup>c</sup> We recognise it in the reply of Saul to his servant, when he proposed to consult the prophet Samuel about the object of their journey: “If we go, what shall we bring the man of God? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God. What have we?” Saul was inclined at first to offer the seer, who was at the same time the chief magistrate in Israel, a piece of bread, till he recollected it was all spent, and then agreed to present him with “the fourth part of a shekel of silver,” in value about a sixpence.<sup>d</sup> It could not then be their design, by of-

<sup>a</sup> Bruce’s Trav. vol. i, p. 60.

<sup>b</sup> Harmer’s Observ. vol. ii, p. 246, 296. Forbes’s Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 13. Maundrell’s Journey, &c. p. 26, 27. Pococke’s Trav. vol. ii, p. 167. Du Tott’s Mem. vol. i, p. 363. Buckingham’s Trav. in Palestine, vol. i, p. 331, 358.

<sup>c</sup> Prov. xviii, 16.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Pococke presented to a Turkish Aga in Egypt two sequins, worth about a guinea, which the latter demanded as the condition of admitting the learned traveller again to his presence. Trav. vol. ii, p. 167.—And Egmont and Heyman inform us, that the well of Joseph in the castle of Cairo is not to be seen without leave from the commandant; which having obtained, they, in return, presented him with a sequin. Vol. i, p. 119.

fering such a trifle, to purchase his services, but merely to shew him that customary mark of respect to which he was entitled. Nor were the prophets of the Lord a set of mercenary pretenders to the knowledge of future events, who sold their services to the anxious inquirer for a large reward. Had they refused to accept of such presents, they would have been guilty of transgressing an established rule of good manners, and of insulting the persons by whom they were offered. When Elisha refused, with an oath, to accept of the present which Naaman the Syrian urged him to receive, it was not because he thought it either unlawful or improper to receive a gift, for he did not hesitate to accept of presents from his own people ; nor was the prophet regardless of an established custom, which offended no precept of the divine law, or disposed to wound, without necessity, the feelings of the Syrian grandee ; but because he would not put it in the power of Naaman to say he had enriched the prophet of Jehovah ; and by this act of self-denial, it is probable he was desirous of recommending the character and service of the true God to that illustrious stranger.

The presents made to the ancient prophets were not always of the same kind and value ; an inhabitant of Baal-shalisha "brought the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of corn in the husk."<sup>o</sup> The king of Israel sent a present by his wife to the prophet Ahijah, of ten loaves and cracknels, and a cruse of honey ; which it appears from other statements, was not deemed unworthy of an eastern king.<sup>f</sup> Some commentators are of opinion, that it was a present fit only for a peasant to make, and was designedly of so small value, to conceal the rank of the messenger. But this idea by no

<sup>o</sup> 2 Kings iv, 42.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Kings xiv, 3.

means corresponds with the custom of the east; for D'Arvieux informs us, that when he waited on an Arabian emir, his mother and sister sent him a present of pastry, honey, fresh butter, with a bason of sweetmeats, which differs very little from the present of Jeroboam.<sup>2</sup> It was certainly the wish of the king, that his wife should not be recognized by the aged prophet; but the present she carried, though not intended to discover her, was in the estimation of the orientals, not unbecoming her rank and condition.

These introductory presents were sometimes of great value. The king of Syria sent a gift by Naaman, of ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment. At the birth of the Saviour, the wise men who came from the east to worship him, after the custom of their country, opened their treasures, and presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.<sup>3</sup> Such presents were commonly made to an eastern prince at his elevation to the throne; and plainly intended on that occasion, as an explicit acknowledgement of his kingly office.<sup>4</sup> In a sublime description of his kingly government and extensive dominion, the following prediction, which then received its accomplishment, occurs: "And he shall live, and to him shall be given of the gold of Sheba." To these costly gifts and offerings, presents of dresses were frequently added. Joseph gave to each of his brethren a change of raiment, but he gave five changes to Benjamin; and from the familiar manner in which the historian mentions the fact, we have a right to conclude that it was a common incident. The servant of Elisha received from

<sup>2</sup> Voy. dans la Palest. p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. ii, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. lxxiii, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Forbes's Orient. Men. vol. ii, p. 11. Orme's Hist. &c. vol. ii, p. 181.



Naaman the Syrian, of the presents intended for his master, two changes of raiment ; and even Solomon accepted of such gifts from the kings and princes who visited his court.<sup>k</sup>

The custom has descended to the present times ; for according to D'Herbelot, Bokteri, an illustrious poet of Cufah, in the ninth century, had so many presents made him in the course of his life, that when he died, he was found possessed of an hundred complete suits of clothes, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans. This anecdote proves how frequently presents of this kind are made to persons of consideration in the Levant ; and at the same time furnishes a beautiful illustration of that passage in the book of Job, where the afflicted patriarch describes the treasures of the east, in his time, as consisting of clothes and money : “ Though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay ; He may prepare it ; but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver.”<sup>l</sup>

It is not uncommon in some places, to send with articles of provision, vessels of different kinds, for the use of their friends. When Dr. Perry visited the temple of Luxor, in Egypt, the cashif there, treated him and his party with many marks of civility and favour, sending them, in return for their presents, provisions of various kinds, and a sort of earthen vessels called bardacks, in which the orientals cool their water.<sup>m</sup> Basins and earthen vessels were, agreeably to this custom, presented to David and his company, by the people of Mahanaim ; although the destitute condition of the king and his followers, is sufficient to account for their attention and liberality. The loyalty and attach-

<sup>k</sup> 2 Chron. ix, 24.

<sup>l</sup> Job xxxvii, 16.

<sup>m</sup> Trav. p. 356, 357.

most of the orientals to their princes, are frequently displayed by presents of this kind. Every one at Tartoura, when D'Arvieux was there, vied with each other in bringing provisions of all kinds for the supper of an Arab emir, who happened to come into their neighbourhood.<sup>a</sup> They were probably presents of this kind, which the enemies of Saul neglected to bring at his coronation; a mark of disrespect which he thought proper at that time to overlook. "The children of Belial said, How shall this man save us; and they despised him, and brought him no presents; but he held his peace."<sup>o</sup>

Presents are commonly sent, even to persons in private station, with great parade. The money which the bridegrooms of Syria pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, and ornaments of gold for the bride, which are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house, three days before the wedding.<sup>p</sup> In Egypt they are not less ostentatious; every article of furniture, dress, and ornament is displayed, and they never fail to load upon four or five horses, what might easily be carried by one: in like manner, they place in fifteen dishes, the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, which a single plate would very well contain.<sup>q</sup> The sacred writer seems to allude to some pompous arrangement of this kind, in the history of Joseph: "And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon." They probably separated into distinct parcels, and committed to so many bearers, the balm, the honey, the spices, the myrrh, the nuts, and the almonds, of which their present consisted. That which Ehud made to Eglon, the king of Moab,

<sup>a</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 310.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Sam. x, 27.

<sup>p</sup> Russel's Hist. vol. i, p. 284, 285.

<sup>q</sup> Maillet, Lett. x, p. 66.

seems to have been assorted and distributed in the same way; for says the historian, "And when he had made an end to offer the present, he sent away the people that bore the present."<sup>1</sup> From these words it may be concluded, that Ehud, according to general custom, exhibited before the king, with great distinctness and ceremony, every part of the present, borne by a number of people, whom he afterwards dismissed, that he might execute his ultimate design with greater secrecy and dispatch. Another remarkable instance of this pompous ceremonial, occurs in the history of Benhadad, who sent a present to the prophet Elisha, consisting of the richest products of Damascus, on the backs of forty camels. The Syrian prince, on that occasion, in which he felt a particular interest, no doubt sent Elisha a present corresponding with his rank and magnificence; but it can scarcely be supposed that so many camels were required to carry it, or that the king would send, as a Jewish writer supposes he did, so great a quantity of provisions to one man. The meaning of the passage certainly is, that the various articles of which the present consisted, according to the modern custom of oriental courts, were carried on a number of camels for the sake of state, and that not fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade. That these camels were not fully laden, must be evident from this, that the common load of a Turkman's camel is eight hundred pounds weight; and consequently, thirty-two thousand pounds weight is the proper loading of forty camels; "if they were only of the Arab breed, twenty thousand pounds weight was their proper loading;"<sup>2</sup> a present, as Mr. Harmer justly remarks, too enormous to be sent by any one person to another.

<sup>1</sup> Judg. iii, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. ii, p. 166.

Taxes in Persia are commonly levied under the form of presents to the monarch. The usual presents are those made annually by all governors of provinces and districts, chiefs of tribes, ministers and all others invested with high office, at the feast of the vernal equinox. These gifts are regulated by the nature of the office, and the wealth of the individual, and consist of the best of the produce of every part of the kingdom. Sometimes a large sum of money is given, which is always the most acceptable present. Allusive to this custom is that command in relation to Messiah: "Let all that are round about him bring presents unto him that ought to be feared."<sup>1</sup> Besides these ordinary presents, extraordinary largesses, of a less defined nature, but which are also of very considerable amount, are expected. Of this kind were, in the opinion of some writers, the presents which the enemies of Saul refused to bring, at his accession to the throne of Israel: "But the children of Belial said, How shall this man save us? And they despised him, and brought him no presents. But he held his peace."<sup>2</sup>

Gifts are often considered in the east as a species of tribute. Of this kind seems to have been the present which Ehud made to Eglon king of Moab, to whom the people of Israel were at that time in subjection. The presents of one prince or monarch to another, are frequently considered as a token of submission by him who receives them. Charadin remarks that they are viewed in this light all over the Levant; and he justly applies the observation to these words of David: "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles

<sup>1</sup> *Psa.* lxxvi, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *1 Sam.* x, 27. *Malcom's Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 478, 479. *Forbes's Orient. Mem.* vol. ii, p. 11.

shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts."† And that the holy Psalmist here refers to tributary offerings, is evident from the next verse: "Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him."

In the days of Amos, the judges and governors of Israel had become so corrupt, that they did not blush to receive a pair of shoes or sandals, as a bribe to favour the cause of one of the parties in a law-suit: "They sold," says the indignant prophet, "the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes." But though presents of very little value, as a pair of sandals or a flower, are sometimes received, the orientals do not consider themselves as always under obligation to accept what is offered, or even to dissemble their displeasure when the gift corresponds not with the dignity of the parties, or when a more valuable one had been bestowed upon another. An Egyptian aga refused to accept the trifling present of Dr. Pococke; and Captain Norden experienced a similar repulse, when he waited on the cashif of Esna with some small presents. He received him very civilly, and ordered coffee to be served; but he refused absolutely what he offered him as a present, and let him know, by the interpreter, that in the places from whence he had come, he had given things of greater value, and that he ought not to shew less respect to him." Chardin mentions another circumstance, which requires to be stated here, that it is a custom in Asia, for poor people, and especially for those that live in the country, to make presents to their lords of lambs and sheep, as an offering, tribute, or succession.\* These two circumstances impart

† Psa. lxxii, 10. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 315.

† Pococke's Trav. vol. ii, p. 183, 184.

\* Lambs are the most acceptable and esteemed present to the grandees of

no little energy to the pointed expostulation of the prophet: "If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?"<sup>1</sup> Such a present is not suitable to his dignity to receive; and will therefore be rejected with scorn and indignation. He required the best of the flock, without which he would not be satisfied; and shall the Most High be treated with less respect, and not resent the indignity?

Presents are employed in the east, by way of subsidies, to induce princes to break their engagements, and take part in a war against their neighbours. An eastern nobleman, in the time of the crusades, quarrelling with his master, the prince of Aleppo, sent presents to Godfrey of Bouillon, to procure his aid. Asa, the king of Judah, employed the same means to break the league between the kings of Israel and Syria, and engage the latter to become a party in the war against the former. The incident is recorded in these words: "Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hands of his servants: and king Asa sent them to Benhadad, the king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, there is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold: come, and break thy league with Basha, king of Israel, that he may depart from me."<sup>2</sup>

*Perals*: and of course, the presents to the English embassy consisted for the most part of live lambs, fruits, and sweetmeats. Indeed, lamb seems to be a principal article of food at every entertainment in the east: so much they delight, like the luxurious nobles of Israel; to "eat the lambs out of the flock."<sup>3</sup> *Morier's Trav.* vol. i, p. 101.      <sup>2</sup> *Mal* i, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *1 Kings* xv, 18. See *Harmer's Observ.* vol. ii, p. 246, 326, 326.

Salutations at meeting, are not less common in the east than in the countries of Europe ; but are generally confined to those of their own nation, or religious party.<sup>b</sup> When the Arabs salute each other, it is generally in these terms : *Salum aleikum*, peace be with you ; laying, as they utter the words, the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalum*, with you be peace ; to which aged people are inclined to add, “ and the mercy and blessing of God.” The Mahomedans of Egypt and Syria never salute a Christian in these terms ; they content themselves with saying to them, “ Good day to you,” or, “ Friend, how do you do ?”<sup>c</sup> Niebuhr’s statement is confirmed by Mr. Bruce, who says, that some Arabs, to whom he gave the salam, or salutation of peace, either made no reply, or expressed their astonishment at his impudence in using such freedom.<sup>d</sup> Thus it appears, that the orientals have two kinds of salutations ; one for strangers, and the other for their own countrymen, or persons of their own religious profession.

The Jews in the days of our Lord, seem to have generally observed the same custom ; they would not address the usual compliment of Peace be to you, to either heathens or publicans ; the publicans of the Jewish nation would use it to their countrymen who were publicans, but not to heathens ; though the more rigid Jews refused to do it either to publicans or heathens. Our Lord required his disciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and cherish a benevolent disposition towards all around them : “ If ye

<sup>b</sup> When a Persian enters an assembly, after having left his shoes without, he makes the usual salutation of “ Peace be unto you,” which is addressed to the whole assembly, as it were saluting the house. This practice corresponds with a command given by our Lord to his disciples : “ When ye come into an house, salute it.” Matt. x, 12. Morier’s Trav. vol. i, p. 144.

<sup>c</sup> Niebuhr’s Descript. p. 43, 44. <sup>d</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 94 ; and vol. ii, p. 58.

salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?" They were bound by the same authority, to embrace their brethren in Christ with a special affection, yet they were to look upon every man as a brother, to feel a sincere and cordial interest in his welfare, and to express at meeting their benevolence, in language corresponding with the feelings of their hearts. This precept is not inconsistent with the charge which the prophet Elisha gave to his servant Gehazi, not to salute any man he met, nor return his salutation; for he wished him to make all the haste in his power to restore the child of the Shunamite, who had laid him under so many obligations. The manners of the country rendered Elisha's precautions particularly proper and necessary, as the salutations of the east often take up a long time. For a similar reason, our Lord himself commanded his disciples on one occasion, to salute no man by the way; it is not to be supposed, that he would require his followers to violate or neglect an innocent custom, still less one of his own precepts; he only directed them to make the best use of their time in executing his work. This precaution was rendered necessary by the length of time which their tedious forms of salutation required. They begin their salutations at a considerable distance, by bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach; They express their devotedness to a person, by holding down the hand; as they do their affection by raising it afterwards to the heart. When they come close together, they take each other by the hand in token of friendship. The country people at meeting, clap each other's hands very smartly twenty or thirty times together, without saying any thing more than, How do ye do? I wish you good



health. After this first compliment, many other friendly questions about the health of the family, mentioning each of the children distinctly, whose names they know. To avoid this useless waste of time, rather than to indicate the meanness in which the disciples were to appear, as Mr. Harmer conjectures, our Lord commanded them to avoid the customary salutations of those whom they might happen to meet by the way.\*

The orientals vary their salutations according to the rank of the persons whom they address. The common method of expressing good will, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and inclining their bodies a little; but when they salute a person of rank, they bow almost to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. The two Greek noblemen at Scio, who introduced the travellers Egmont and Heyman to the cham of Tartary, kissed his robe at their entrance, and took leave of him with the same ceremony. Sandys was present when the grand signior himself paid his people the usual compliment, by riding in great state through the streets of Constantinople. He saluted the multitude as he moved along, having the right hand constantly on his breast, bowing first to the one side, and then to the other, when the people with a low and respectful voice, wished him all happiness and prosperity.<sup>f</sup> Dr. Shaw's account of the Arabian compliment, or common salutation, Peace be unto you, agrees with these statements; but he observes further, that inferiors, out of deference and respect, kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments of their superiors.<sup>g</sup> They fre-

\* Maillet, Lett. xi, p. 137, 138. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 331.

<sup>f</sup> Sandys's Trav. p. 50, part i, p. 87. See also Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 327-343.

<sup>g</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 426.

quently kiss the hand also ; but this last seems not to be regarded as a token of equal submission with the others ; for D'Arvieux observes, that the women who wait on the Arabian princesses, kiss their hands when they do them the favour not to suffer them to kiss their feet, or the border of their robe.<sup>b</sup>

All these forms of salutation appear to have been in general use in the days of our Lord, for he represents a servant as falling down at the feet of his master, when he had a favour to ask ; and an inferior servant, as paying the same compliment to the first, who belonged, it would seem, to a higher class : “ The servant, therefore, fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord have patience with me and I will pay thee all.” “ And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, have patience with me and I will pay thee all.”<sup>c</sup> When Jairus solicited the Saviour to go and heal his daughter, he fell down at his feet : the apostle Peter, on another occasion, seems to have fallen down at his knees, in the same manner as the modern Arabs fall down at the knees of a superior. The woman who was afflicted with an issue of blood, touched the hem of his garment ; and the Syrophenician woman fell down at his feet. In Persia, the salutation among intimate friends is made by inclining the neck over each other's necks, and then inclining cheek to cheek ; which Mr. Morier thinks is most likely the falling upon the neck and kissing, so frequently mentioned in Scripture.<sup>d</sup>

Mr. Harmer contends, that Cornelius the centurion,

<sup>b</sup> Trav. p. 252.

<sup>c</sup> Matth. xviii, 26, 29.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxxiii, 4, and xlv, 14 ; and Luke xv, 20. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 126.

when he fell down at the feet of the apostle Peter and worshipped him, did not intend to pay him divine honours, but merely to salute him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive, in the ceremonious east. He allows there was something extraordinary in the behaviour of Cornelius, but no mixture of idolatry.<sup>\*</sup> But it is to be feared the verdict which this respectable writer pronounces for the excellent Roman, is too favourable. The apostles did not at other times refuse the common tokens of respect and civility from those around them; and if the act of Cornelius meant no more, the refusal cannot be accounted for, upon the common principles of human nature. But the words of the evangelist ought to decide the question; he says expressly that Cornelius worshipped him;<sup>†</sup> *προσκύνησεν*, the term which Luke and other inspired writers commonly use to express the homage which is due only to the Supreme Being. This term, it is admitted, is often employed by writers, both sacred and profane, to denote merely civil respect; but it cannot with propriety be so understood here, because the reason which the apostle assigned for his refusal, derives all its propriety and force from religious worship; "Stand up; I myself also am a man." But surely it is not inconsistent with the character of a man to receive an extraordinary token of respect from another. Mr. Harmer thinks the conduct of the apostle John, in throwing himself at the feet of the angel, is to be viewed in a somewhat different light. "John did nothing at all," says our author, "but what was conformable to the usages of his own country, when the people of it designed innocently to express great reverence and gratitude." But if the apostle meant only

<sup>\*</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 339.

<sup>†</sup> Acts x, 25, 26.

to express by his prostration, the ordinary feelings of civil respect, why did the angel refuse it; and that because he was one of his fellow-servants? That it was actually more than civil respect—that it was really divine honours which John meant in the tumult of his feelings, or from a mistaken view of the angel's character, to pay, is quite evident from the charge which the celestial messenger gave him, to render unto God the homage which he intended at this time for him. But surely God is not the proper object of civil respect, but of religious adoration; and therefore, it must have been the latter which John intended. Though he was a Jew by descent, an enemy to all idolatry, and a zealous preacher against it, still he was but a man of like passions with others; and although under the supernatural influence of the divine Spirit, as an apostle, he was not infallible as a Christian, and by consequence he was liable, highly favoured as he certainly was, to deviate from the path of duty; and had he not at this time done a very improper thing, the angel had not reproved him, nor used terms so expressive of his abhorrence: "See not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God."<sup>m</sup> That his conduct on this memorable occasion, had at least a mixture of idolatry, is evident from the command he receives, to reserve such homage for God alone, to whom it is due.

The forms of salutation in the east wear a much more serious and religious air than those in use among the nations of Europe. "God be gracious unto thee, my son," were the words which Joseph addressed to his brother Benjamin. In this country, it would be called a benedic-

<sup>m</sup> Rev. xxii, 10.

tion; but Chardin asserts, that in Asia it is a simple salutation, and used there instead of those offers and assurances of service, which it is the custom to use in the west. The orientals indeed, are exceedingly eloquent in wishing good and the mercy of God on all occasions to one another, even to those they scarcely know; and yet their compliments are as hollow and deceitful as those of any other people. This appears from Scripture, to have been always their character: "They bless with their mouths, but they curse inwardly." These benedictory forms explain the reason, why the sacred writers so frequently call the salutation and farewell of the east, by the name of blessing.<sup>a</sup>

The attitudes and expressions of respect, which the rules of good breeding require from the oriental, are far more diversified and servile than ours; yet he uses a freedom with his equals, and even with persons of superior condition, which we are uniformly taught to regard as improper. It is reckoned among us a sure mark of vulgarity, in any person to mention his own name before that of his equal; and an instance of great arrogance to name himself before his superior; but in the east, it is quite customary for the speaker to name himself first.<sup>b</sup> This was also the habitual practice in Israel, and quite consistent with their notions of good breeding: for David, who had been long at the court of Saul, and could be no stranger to the rules of good manners, addressed his sovereign in these words: "The Lord judge between me and thee;" and this at a time too, when he treated that prince with great reverence; for "he stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself" immediately before. In

<sup>a</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii. p. 344.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 343.

the same manner, Ephraim the Hittite replied to the patriarch Abraham, who was at least his equal, more probably his superior: "My lord, hearken unto me; the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver; what is that between me and thee."<sup>p</sup> Hence David was guilty of no rudeness to Saul, in naming himself first; his conduct was quite agreeable to the modern ceremonial of eastern courts, at least to that of Persia, which seems to have been established soon after the flood.

The most abject submission is required by an eastern conqueror from those whom he has vanquished. They fall prostrate on the ground before him; they kiss his feet, and the very ground upon which he treads. D'Herbelot mentions an eastern prince, who threw himself one day on the ground, and kissed the marks which the feet of his conqueror's horse had left there.<sup>q</sup> These were the proofs which custom probably required, of complete subserviency to the will of a master; the unequivocal tokens of entire vassalage.

Such is the submission which the most fearless and independent nations of the earth, shall one day yield to the Messiah: "They that dwell in the wilderness," the wild Arabs, whom no conqueror could ever subdue, no politician ever tame, "shall bow before him," or become his vassals; "and his enemies shall lick the dust," or betray their fear and reverence, by the most lowly submission. Kings and princes have actually prostrated themselves in the dust, before their conquerors; and therefore, the language in which the prophet foretells the glory of the church in the latter days—"Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall

<sup>p</sup> Gen. xxiii, 15.

<sup>q</sup> Trav. p. 436; and Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 172.

bow down to thee with their face to the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet"—are not extravagant figures of oriental rhetoric, but expressive of those acts of dutiful submission, which the customs of eastern countries require.

To kiss the hand and place it on the head, is a token of respect less revolting to our minds, than some of those which have been mentioned. An oriental pays his respects to a person of superior station, by kissing his hand, and putting it to his forehead; but if the superior be of a condescending temper, he will snatch away his hand, as soon as the other has touched it; then the inferior puts his own fingers to his lips, and afterwards to his forehead.<sup>1</sup> It seems, according to Pitts, to be a common practice among the Mahomedans; that when they cannot kiss the hand of a superior, they kiss their own, and put it to their forehead; thus also they venerate an unseen being, whom they cannot touch.<sup>2</sup> But the custom existed long before the age of Mahomet; for in the same way, the ancient idolaters worshipped their distant or unseen deities. "If," said Job, "I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart has been secretly enticed, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above."<sup>3</sup> Had the afflicted man done this, in the case to which he refers, it would have been an idolatrous action, although it is exactly agreeable to the civil expressions of respect which obtained in his country, and over all the east.

Sometimes they express their love and veneration, by

<sup>1</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Trav. p. 66. Pococke's Trav. vol. ii, p. 76. Norden's Trav. part ii, p. 34, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Job xxxi, 28.

taking hold of the beard and giving it a kiss. D'Arvieux was present at an Arabian entertainment, to which came all the emirs, a little while after his arrival, accompanied by their friends and attendants; and after the usual civilities, caresses, kissings of the beard, and of the hand, which every one gave and received, according to his rank and dignity, sat down upon mats. It was in this way perhaps, that Joab pretended to testify his respect for Amasa, his rival in the favour of the king; he took him by the beard to kiss him, or agreeably to the custom of these emirs, or Arabian chieftains, to kiss the beard itself; and in this stooping posture he could much better see to direct the blow, than if he had only held his beard, and raised himself to kiss his face;" while Amasa, charmed by this high compliment, which was neither suspicious nor unusual, and undoubtedly, returning it with corresponding politeness, paid no attention to the sword in the hand of his murderer. It is extremely probable that Judas betrayed his Lord in the same way, by kissing his beard. The evangelists Matthew and Mark say, that he came directly to Jesus, and said, Hail Master, and kissed him; but Luke seems to hint, that Judas saluted him with more respect. Jesus, according to Matthew, had time to say, before he received the kiss from Judas, "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" and while Judas was kissing his beard, Jesus might express himself with great ease and propriety as Luke relates, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?"

Intimate acquaintances sometimes kissed the shoulder of each other.\* This token of regard was probably shewn

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 357.

\* Taylor's Carmet, vol. iii.

\* Odyss. lib. xxii, l. 499.



by Esau to his brother, at their meeting; the words of Moses are, "And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him."<sup>2</sup> And it is very probable, that all those texts which speak of falling on the neck, and kissing a person, refer to this eastern custom, of kissing the shoulder in an embrace.

A rider was expected to dismount, when he met a person of more elevated rank. Under the influence of this ancient custom, the Egyptians dismount from their asses, when they approach the tombs of their departed saints; and both Christians and Jews are obliged to submit to the same ceremony. Christians in that country must also dismount when they happen to meet with officers of the army.<sup>3</sup> In Palestine, the Jews, who are not permitted to ride on horseback, are compelled to dismount from their asses and pass by a Mahommedan on foot.<sup>4</sup> This explains the reason that Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, and Abigail the wife of Nabal, alighted from their asses; it was a mark of respect which the former owed to her father, and the latter to David, a person of high rank and growing renown. It was undoubtedly for the same reason, that Rebecca alighted from the camel on which she rode, when the servant informed her, that the stranger whom she descried at a distance in the field, was his master; and that Naaman, the Syrian grandee, alighted from his chariot, at the approach of Gehazi, the servant of Elisha.

The ceremonial of the orientals does not end with the introduction of persons to one another, but continues during the whole visit. The most scrupulous attention is

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxiii, 4. <sup>3</sup> Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 35. Hasselquist, p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Chadler's Trav. p. 200. Niebuhr's Descript. p. 39. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 322.

paid by all parties to the established tokens of respect ; the posture of the body, the part of the room, and other circumstances are all regulated by custom, to whose imperious dictates they have implicitly submitted from the remotest antiquity. One of the postures, by which a person testifies his respect for a superior, is by sitting upon his heels, which is considered as a token of great humility. In this manner, says Dr. Pococke, resting on their hams, sat the attendants of the English consul, when he waited on the Caia of the Pasha of Tripoli.<sup>a</sup> It was in this humble posture, probably, that David, the king of Israel, sat before the Lord in the sanctuary, when he blessed him for his gracious promise concerning his family ; half sitting and half kneeling, so as to rest the body upon the heels. This entirely removes the ground of perplexity, which some expositors have felt, in their attempts to elicit a meaning from the phrase, sitting before the Lord, at once consistent with the majesty of Jehovah, and the humility of the worshipper ; for this attitude expressed among the orientals, the deepest humility, and by consequence, was every way becoming a worshipper of the true God.

To sit, as we do, on a seat, was, on the contrary, a mark of distinction, particularly if it was furnished with a cushion. Chardin says, it is the custom of Asia not to go into the shops, which are very small, but to sit down in seats prepared for the purpose on the outside, on which cushions are laid for persons of distinction ; and he adds, that people of quality cause carpets and cushions to be carried wherever they please, that they may repose themselves upon them more agreeably.<sup>b</sup> To a custom of this kind, Job seems to refer in his mournful retrospect of de-

<sup>a</sup> Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 213 ; and vol. ii, p. 102, 190.

<sup>b</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 220. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 367.

parted prosperity: "When I went out to the gate through the city; when I prepared my seat in the street."<sup>c</sup> This patriarch was a prince and a judge among his people, and was, therefore, entitled to take his seat in the gate, which was the ordinary place of hearing causes in the east attended by a retinue of servants, with carpets and cushions for his accommodation, according to his rank, and the office he sustained.

But it was a mark of higher distinction to sit in the corner, than upon a seat. At a visit which the English consul made to the pasha of Tripoli, the latter, having on the garment of ceremony, gave the welcome as he passed, and sat down cross-legged in the corner to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them behind him. When Dr. Pococke, who relates this incident, was introduced to the shekh of Tourshout, he found him sitting in the corner of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and on a visit to the bey of Girgè, he found him placed on a sofa on the right hand, as one entered, in the corner of his tent. Hence it appears, that in the east, the corner on the right, as one enters the apartment, is the place of honour.<sup>d</sup> When Mr. Martin visited Mirra Abulcasim, one of the most renowned soofies in all Persia, he found several persons sitting in an open court, in which a few greens and flowers were placed; the master in a corner.<sup>e</sup>

This may, perhaps, enable us to explain a passage which has long exercised the patience and ingenuity of exposi-

<sup>c</sup> Job xxix, 7.

<sup>d</sup> Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 90, 124. See also Du Tott's Mem. vol. i, p. 110, 365. Richardson's Trav. vol. ii, p. 277. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 213.

<sup>e</sup> Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn, p. 363.—Merier's Trav. vol. i, p. 91.

tors. "As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria, in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch."<sup>f</sup> Only a very few of the meanest and lowest of the people shall escape from the hand of their destroyers. Such shall be the fate of Samaria, that holds among the cities of Israel the place of honour, equally distinguished as the seat of power, the centre of wealth, and the chosen resort of rank and fashion. The situation of Samaria, perfectly corresponds with this interpretation; this rich and powerful city was built on the summit of a hill, in the midst of a beautiful country.

This custom also serves to illustrate another passage of Scripture: "Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners," or as it is in the original, thou didst divide or appoint them to the corner. The verb is *Halak*, which, in another passage, is used to express the appointing of Aaron's sons to their different charges. The meaning of Nehemiah, interpreted by this custom, is, "Thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst also give the pre-eminence to Israel, and make them chief among the surrounding states."<sup>g</sup>

Odoriferous ointments and perfumes were often presented by the great as a particular mark of distinction.<sup>h</sup> The king of Babylon treated the prophet Daniel with the richest perfumes, after he had predicted the future destinies of his empire, as a distinguished proof of his esteem and admiration: "Then the king, Nebuchadnezzar, fell upon his face, and worshiped Daniel, and commanded that

<sup>f</sup> Amos iii, 12.

<sup>g</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 368.

<sup>h</sup> Maundrell's Journey, p. 30, 31. Maillet, Lett. i, p. 6.

they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him."<sup>1</sup> This passage, Mr. Harmer considers as exceedingly difficult ; and he labours hard to prove that the king meant nothing more than civil respect.<sup>2</sup> "Nebuchadnezzar, in all this matter, appeared to have considered Daniel merely as a prophet : his words strongly express this, Your God is a God of gods ; and had it been otherwise, a person so zealous as Daniel, who risked his life, rather than neglect his homage to his God, and had the courage to pray to him with his windows open toward Jerusalem, contrary to the king's command, would undoubtedly, like Paul and Barnabas, have rejected these odours." This view completely vindicates the prophet from the charge of conniving at the idolatry of the king ; but it is not necessary to his defence. The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, it is allowed, admits of a favourable construction ; but, at the same time, it is scarcely possible to avoid the suspicion that he was, on this memorable occasion, guilty of idolatrous veneration. The verb *sagad*, he worshipped, so far as the writer has been able to trace it, both in Hebrew and Chaldee, expresses the homage which is rendered to a god, and is, perhaps, universally applied to the worship of false deities in the sacred Scriptures. If this remark be just, it is greatly to be suspected that Nebuchadnezzar, who had few, or no correct religious principles to restrain the sudden movements of his impetuous passions, did intend, on that occasion, to honour Daniel as a god, or, which is not materially different, to worship the divinity in the prophet. But it may be demanded, how then is Daniel to be vindicated ? Shall we suppose that a prophet of the Lord, a man highly favoured and

<sup>1</sup> Dan. ii, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Observ. vol. ii, p. 389.

distinguished for his eminent holiness, would suffer idolatry to be practised in his presence, more especially when he himself was the object of it, without expressing his disapprobation? To this objection, the following answer is offered. The sacred writers, studious of extreme brevity, often pass over many incidents in the scenes which they describe. Daniel, therefore, might actually reject the intended honour, although it is not mentioned in the record. This silence of the historian, will not prove that it was not done, while there are certain circumstances in the narrative which go far to prove that the prophet did reject the homage of Nebuchadnezzar. In the 28th verse of the second chapter, he solemnly declares before the king and the whole court, that "it is the God of heaven that revealeth secrets, and makes known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days;" and the 30th verse, "But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living." When these faithful declarations are considered, it is not to be supposed that Daniel neglected to remind the king that religious worship is due to God alone; and that such a testimony was given at the time, is intimated with considerable clearness in the confession of the king himself, verse 47th, which seems to refer to something the prophet had just said to him: "The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a Revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret." The character of Daniel, therefore, is not affected by the misconduct of his sovereign, in paying him divine honours.

In the reign of Belshazzar, he received an honour of a different and less equivocal kind: "They clothed him with

scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom." This custom of changing the dress of a person, as a mark of honour, is still common in the east. The words of the record, although not quite decisive, seem to favour the idea that the change of dress was a part of the ceremony by which Daniel was invested with official authority, and not a distinct honour. In Hindostan, no governor or other officer, can enter upon his office, without receiving a dress of honour from his sovereign. These dresses are conferred by a superior on a person of humbler condition, when he is raised to a place of power and trust, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.<sup>k</sup> This custom, the Hindoos probably borrowed from the Persians; and if so, Daniel's change of dress was an established sign of his accession to the high dignity which he so well deserved. In ages long anterior to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph was invested with the office of ruler over all the land of Egypt by a similar ceremony: "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck."<sup>l</sup> The robes

<sup>k</sup> Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. iii, p. 328. Norden's Trav. part ii, p. 96, 97. Thevenot's Trav. part i, p. 85.

<sup>l</sup> Gen. xli, 42.—Some writers contend, that the ancient Egyptians were unacquainted with the manufacture of fine linen, because the linen in which the mummies are swathed is very coarse; and by consequence, that Moses could only mean that it was comparatively fine. But the phrase "fine linen," so frequently used by the inspired writers, naturally leads to the conclusion that we must understand it in the proper sense of the terms. The justice of this remark is placed beyond a doubt by the declaration of Dr. Richardson, who says, that though "the cloth wrapping of the mummy is generally coarse, it is occasionally met with of the finest texture;" which completely proves the accuracy of the sacred historian. Trav. vol. ii, p. 113.

of office, with which Mordecai the Jew was arrayed in the court of Ahasuerus, were still more gorgeous, for he "went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple."<sup>m</sup> From these quotations it appears, that the investiture consisted of various ceremonies; the appointment was no sooner announced, than the monarch took the ring from his hand, and put it on the finger of the minister, then he changed his dress, then put a gold chain about his neck, and last of all presented him with an equipage corresponding with his dignity, which completed the investiture.

In Abyssinia, the governor of Tigré, who is at the same time the greatest man in the kingdom, has the privilege to use a gold cup for drinking, which he received from his sovereign as an appendage to his office.<sup>n</sup> Such, it is probable, was Joseph's cup, out of which he drank on public occasions, which he might be supposed greatly to value, and to preserve with jealous care. If this conjecture be well founded, it serves to account, in a more satisfactory manner, for the astonishment and terror which overwhelmed his brethren when they found it in Benjamin's sack. To abstract a single article from the house of one who had entertained them so kindly, was peculiarly disgraceful; but to purloin the cup of office, which belonged to the prime minister of Egypt, was to involve them all in utter and inevitable destruction.<sup>o</sup>

The caffetan, or robe of honour, is often bestowed as a mark of distinction, without any reference to office. La Roque, and three other attendants on the French consul

<sup>m</sup> Esth. viii, 15.

<sup>o</sup> Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>n</sup> Bruce's Trav. vol. ii, p. 657.



at Sidon, received each a robe of honour at a public audience, from Ishmael, the Turkish basha.<sup>4</sup> In China the agents of foreign powers are sometimes invested, by order of the Emperor, with dresses of honour.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Bruce also was favoured with this mark of distinction by Osman, one of the beys of Egypt, on his return from Abyssinia ; which operated an immediate and important change to the better, in the sentiments and conduct of the persons to whose care he was committed ; the haughty Mussulmans no sooner beheld him retire from the presence chamber, with this mark of their master's regard, than laying aside the brutality in which they indulged before, they became civil, attentive, and even obsequious, to the stranger, whom they still secretly hated or despised.<sup>6</sup> The kings of Persia bestow a dress of honour upon their favourites, particularly on occasion of their great festivals.<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Lowth supposes, in his Commentary on Daniel, that, although the king thought himself bound to perform his promise to clothe the venerable seer with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and make him third ruler in the kingdom, yet it was likely it could not take effect at that unseasonable time of the night : and, therefore, the words might have been better translated : " Then commanded Belshazzar that they should clothe Daniel with scarlet." But this is an unnecessary refinement ; for these caffetans are always in readiness, and are commonly put on as soon as the command is given. Mr. Bruce received the caffetan in the middle of the night ; and the following passage from Chardin, will shew how easy it is for an oriental prince to put a garment on the

<sup>4</sup> Voy. dans la Palest. vol. i, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Trav. vol. vi, p. 532.

<sup>7</sup> Asiatic Journal for June 1824, p. 632.

<sup>6</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 69.

person he intends to honour. Having observed, that in Persia and the Indies, they not only give a vestment, but even a complete suit of clothes, when they would distinguish a person with more than ordinary honour, he proceeds : " These presents of vestments are only from superiors to inferiors ; not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great. Kings constantly give them to ambassadors, residents and envoys ; and send them to princes who are their tributaries, and do them homage. They pay great attention to the quality, or merit of those to whom these vestments, or habits, are given ; they are always answerable to their rank. Those that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state. The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. The intendant of the wardrobe sends one of them to the person, as the great master orders, and of that kind the order directs. In Turkey, they pay little attention to the difference of the cloth of which the vestments are made ; they make them nearly of the same value, but they give more or fewer, according to the dignity of the person to whom they are presented, or the degree in which they wish to honour him. Some ambassadors have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themselves and their attendants ; and one person sometimes receives a number for himself, according to his rank."<sup>a</sup> But besides the caffetan, an eastern prince sometimes gives his own garment as the highest token of respect ; thus Selim gave his robe to the iman of the

<sup>a</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 394, 395. See also Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 14.

mosque at Aleppo, who happened to please him greatly; but the custom existed in those countries long before his time, for Jonathan, as a proof of his tender affection, and the strongest confirmation of his unalterable friendship, "stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle."<sup>v</sup>

Persons of rank and opulence in those countries, are now distinguished from their inferiors, by riding on horseback when they go abroad; while those of meaner station, and Christians of every rank, the consuls of Christian powers excepted, are obliged to content themselves with the ass or the mule.<sup>w</sup> A Turkish grandee, proud of his exclusive privilege, moves on horseback with a very slow and stately pace.<sup>x</sup> To the honour of riding upon horses, and the stately manner in which the oriental nobles proceed through the streets, with a number of servants walking before them, the wise man seems to allude, in his account of the disorders which occasionally prevail in society: "I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth."<sup>y</sup>

But while the higher orders in the east commonly affect so much state, and maintain so great a distance from their inferiors, they sometimes lay aside their solemn and awful reserve, and stoop to acts of condescension, which are unknown in these parts of the world. It is not an uncommon thing to admit the poor to their tables, when they

<sup>v</sup> 1 Sam. xviii, 4. See also Calmet, vol. iii. Malcom's Hist. vol. i, p. 454. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 299, 300. Richardson's Trav. vol. ii, p. 399.

<sup>w</sup> Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 322.

<sup>x</sup> Maillet, Lett. i, p. 7, 8. Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 17.

<sup>y</sup> Eccl. x, 7.

give a public entertainment. Pococke was present at a great feast in Egypt, where every one, as he had done eating, got up, washed his hands, took a draught of water, and retired to make way for others; and so on in a continual succession, till the poor came in and eat up all. "For the Arabs," he says "never set by any thing that is brought to table, so that, when they kill a sheep, they dress it all, call in their neighbours and the poor, and finish every thing."<sup>a</sup> The same writer, in another passage, mentions a circumstance which is still more remarkable, that an Arab prince will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even to beggars, in the usual expression of Bismillah, that is, in the name of God, who come and sit down to meat, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks.<sup>a</sup> Hence, in the parable of the great supper, our Lord describes a scene which corresponded with existing customs. When the guests, whom the master of the house had invited to the entertainment, refused to come, he "said to his servants, go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and the maimed, and the halt and the blind. And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the lord said unto the servant, Go out unto the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."<sup>b</sup>

Oriental princes sometimes distinguish their favourites by giving them particular names, expressing familiarity and delight, which they do not communicate to others, or use to themselves, except at those times when they honour them with the most familiar conversation. A trace

<sup>a</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 57.<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 182.<sup>b</sup> Luke xiv, 16.

of this singular custom may be discovered in the promise addressed to the angel of the church in Pergamos: "To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it."<sup>c</sup> Or, as a name given to any person must be known to others, else it would be given in vain, it intimates, that honour should be conferred upon such a one, which shall only be known to the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received that honour themselves. But besides the secret name of intimate familiarity, the oriental princes frequently distinguished their favourite subjects by a new name, commonly taken from some remarkable occurrence, by which they were to be known in future life. Pharaoh gave a new name to Joseph after he had interpreted the dream, alluding to that circumstance; another Egyptian monarch, when he made Eliakim king over Judah and Jerusalem, turned his name to Jehoiakim; and when Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachin, and made Mattaniah, his father's brother, king in his stead, he changed his name to Zedekiah. When the Koosas, an African tribe, wish to do honour to any person, they also give him a new name, the meaning of which nobody knows but the person who gives it. This mark of distinction is particularly bestowed upon any white people that come among them, and remain with them for any time. It is incomprehensible how soon a stranger is known throughout the country by his new appellation.<sup>d</sup> The same custom is preserved by the Seneca Indians of North Ame-

<sup>c</sup> Rev. ii, 17. Burder 1, ob. 585.

<sup>d</sup> Leichtenstein's Trav. in South Africa.

rica. To give one a new name, and especially their own, they consider as the highest honour they can bestow, and reserve it for particular favourites. They begin with a speech, in which they explain the reason for naming the person ; then they ask him if he accepts the name ; and on being answered in the affirmative, chaunt in a very curious manner, the song which they use at naming their children, and when that is finished, they shake hands with the person, and call him by his new name. No reasonable doubt can be entertained, that these customs, which are found to prevail among tribes and nations so widely scattered, and so differently circumstanced, may be traced to one origin.

The kings of Persia very seldom admitted a subject to their table. Athenæus mentions it as a peculiar honour, which no Grecian enjoyed before or after, that Artaxerxes condescended to invite Timogoras, the Cretan, to dine even at the table where his relations ate ; and to send sometimes a part of what was served up at his own ; which some persons looked upon as a diminution of his majesty, and a prostitution of their national honour. Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, tells us, that none but the king's mother, and his real wife, were permitted to sit at his table ; and he therefore mentions it as a condescension in that prince, that he sometimes invited his brothers.<sup>d</sup> Haman, the prime minister of Ahasuerus, had therefore some reason to value himself upon the invitation which he received, to dine with the king : " Haman said, moreover, yea, Esther the queen let no man come in with the king, into the banquet which she had prepared, but myself ; and to-morrow am I invited unto her also with the king."

<sup>d</sup> Esther v, 12. Burder's Orient. Cust. vol. ii, p. 183.

The same ambitious minister received another mark of great distinction from his master : " The king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman." This he did, both as a token of affection and honour ; for when the king of Persia gives a ring to any one, it is a token and bond of the greatest love and friendship. " Here also," says Mr. Forbes, " we see an exact description of the mode of conferring honour on the favourite of a sovereign, a princely dress, a horse, and a ring; these are now the usual presents to foreign ambassadors, and between one Indian prince and another.\*

Oriental females express their respect for persons of high rank, by gently applying one of their hands to their mouths ; a custom which seems to have existed from time immemorial. In some of the towns of Barbary, the leaders of the sacred caravans are received with loud acclamations, and every expression of the warmest regard. The women view the parade from the tops of the houses, and testify their satisfaction by striking their four fingers on their lips, as fast as they can, all the while making a joyful noise.<sup>f</sup> The sacred writers perhaps allude to this custom, in those passages where clapping the hand in the singular number is mentioned. Striking the hand smartly upon the other, which we call clapping the hands, was also used to express joy, in the same manner as among ourselves ; but in the east it appears to have been generally employed to denote a malignant satisfaction, a triumphant or insulting joy. In this way, the enemies of Jerusalem expressed their satisfaction, at the fall of that great and powerful city : " All that pass by clap their hands at thee; they hiss, and wag their head at the daugh-

\* Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 198.

<sup>f</sup> Pitts' Trav. p. 85.

ter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth."<sup>s</sup> And Job, after describing the destruction of a wicked man, says, "Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place." But other words that are translated in our version, clapping the hands, denote no more than the gentle application of one hand to the lips, or some part of the body, as a testimony of approbation and delight. This allusion is perhaps involved in David's invitation, "O clap your hands all ye people, (in the original, hand), shout unto God with the voice of triumph;"<sup>n</sup> and in the mode in which the people expressed their joy, when Jehoash ascended the throne of his ancestors; they "clapped their hands, (in Hebrew, the hand), and said, God save the king."<sup>1</sup>

It is still the custom in the east, to testify their respect for persons of distinction, by music and dancing. When Baron du Tott, who was sent by the French government to inspect their factories in the Levant, approached an encampment of Turcomans, between Aleppo and Alexandretta, the musicians of the different hordes turned out, playing and dancing before him all the time he and his escort were passing by their camp.<sup>k</sup> Alcinous the king of Phæacea, from the same motive, entertained Ulysses with music at a public feast, when he was ready to embark for Ithaca.<sup>j</sup> Thus, it will be recollected, "the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music," when he returned in triumph from the slaughter of the Philistines.

<sup>s</sup> Lam. ii, 15.<sup>n</sup> Psa. xlvii, 1.<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xi, 12.<sup>j</sup> Odyssey, lib. vii, l. 62.<sup>k</sup> Memoirs, part iv, p. 131, 132.



In the oriental dances, in which the women engage by themselves, the lady of highest rank in the company takes the lead ; and is followed by her companions, who imitate her steps, and if she sing, make up the chorus. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied according to the pleasure of her who leads the dance, but always in exact time. This statement may enable us to form a correct idea of the dance, which the women of Israel performed under the direction of Miriam, on the banks of the Red sea. The prophetess, we are told, “ took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and dances.” She led the dance, while they imitated her steps, which were not conducted according to a set, well known form, as in this country, but extemporaneous. The conjecture of Mr. Harmer is extremely probable, that David did not dance alone before the Lord, when he brought up the ark, but as being the highest in rank, and more skilful than any of the people, he led the religious dance of the males.<sup>1</sup>

When a great prince in the east sets out on a journey, it is usual to send a party of men before him, to clear the way. The state of those countries in every age, where roads are almost unknown, and from the want of cultivation in many parts overgrown with brambles, and other thorny plants, which renders travelling, especially with a large retinue, very incommodious, requires this precaution. The emperor of Hindostan, in his progress through his dominions, as described in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe’s embassy to the court of Delhi, was preceded by a very great company, sent before him to cut up the trees

<sup>1</sup> Harmer’s *Observ.* vol. ii, p. 435, 438.

and bushes, to level and smooth the road, and prepare their place of encampment.<sup>k</sup> Balin, who swayed the imperial sceptre of India, had five hundred chosen men, in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, who ran before him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. Nor was this honour reserved exclusively for the reigning emperor; it was often shewn to persons of royal birth. When an Indian princess made a visit to her father, the roads were directed to be repaired, and made clear for her journey; fruit trees were planted, water vessels placed in the road side, and great illuminations prepared for the occasion.<sup>l</sup> Mr. Bruce gives nearly the same account of a journey, which the king of Abyssinia made through a part of his dominions. The chief magistrate of every district through which he had to pass, was by his office, obliged to have the roads cleared, levelled and smoothed; and he mentions, that a magistrate of one of the districts having failed in this part of his duty, was, together with his son, immediately put to death on the spot, where a thorn happened to catch the garment, and interrupt for a moment the progress of his majesty. This custom is easily recognized in that beautiful prediction: "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken

<sup>k</sup> Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain, p. 468.

<sup>l</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 449. Maurice's Modern Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i, p. 417. Bruce's Trav. vol. iv, p. 69, 4to ed.

it."<sup>m</sup> We shall be able, perhaps, to form a more clear and precise idea, from the account which Diodorus gives of the marches of Semiramis, the celebrated queen of Babylon, into Media and Persia.<sup>n</sup> In her march to Ecbatane, says the historian, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs, and being full of craggy precipices and deep hollows, could not be passed without taking a great compass. Being therefore desirous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be dugged down, and the hollows to be filled up; and at a great expense she made a shorter and more expeditious road; which to this day is called from her, the road of Semiramis. Afterwards she went into Persia, and all the other countries of Asia subject to her dominion; and wherever she went, she ordered the mountains and the precipices to be levelled, raised causeys in the plain country, and at a great expense made the ways passable. Whatever may be in this story, the following statement is entitled to the fullest credit: "All eastern potentates have their precursors and a number of pioneers to clear the road, by removing obstacles and filling up the ravines, and the hollow ways in their route. In the days of Mogul splendour, the emperor caused the hills and mountains to be levelled, and the valleys to be filled up for his convenience. This beautifully illustrates the figurative language in the approach of the Prince of peace, when every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."<sup>o</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Isa. xi, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. ii, cap. 13, p. 127.

<sup>o</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i, p. 213.

A spear carried in the hand, is another mark of honour in some countries. We can trace this custom as high as the days of Saul, the first king of Israel: He "abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah, having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him."<sup>p</sup>

A bracelet is commonly worn by the oriental princes, as a badge of power and authority. When the calif Cayem Benrillah granted the investiture of certain dominions to an eastern prince, he sent him letters patent, a crown, a chain, and bracelets.<sup>q</sup> This was probably the reason that the Amalekite brought the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown, to David.<sup>r</sup> It was a royal ornament, and belonged to the regalia of the kingdom. The bracelet, it must be acknowledged, was worn both by men and women of different ranks; but the original word, in the second book of Samuel, occurs only in other two places, and is quite different from the term, which is employed to express the more common ornament known by that name. And besides, this ornament was worn by kings and princes in a different manner from their subjects. It was fastened above the elbow; and was commonly of great value.<sup>s</sup> The people of Israel found the bracelet among the spoils of Midian, when they destroyed that nation in the time of Moses; but it will be remembered, that they killed at the same time five of their kings. The prophet Isaiah, indeed, mentions the kind of bracelet, which Mr. Harmer considers as the peculiar badge of kings, in his description of the wardrobe of a Jewish lady, which proves, that in the age when he flourished, it was not the exclusive decoration of regal person-

<sup>p</sup> 1 Sam. xxii, 6.

<sup>r</sup> 2 Sam. i, 10.

<sup>q</sup> D'Herbelot, p. 541.

<sup>s</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 175.

ages, but had been assumed, and was often worn by persons of inferior rank ; but it is by no means improbable, that the extravagance of the female sex in his time, which seems to have arisen to an unprecedented height, might have confounded in some measure, the distinctions of rank, by inducing the nobility of Judah to affect the state and ornaments of their princes.

Persons of distinction in various countries of the east, wore chains of silver and gold ; and not satisfied with this, ostentatiously displayed their wealth and rank, by suspending chains of the same precious metals about the necks of their camels. Silver chains, according to Pococke, hung from the bridles of the seven military agas in Egypt, to the breastplates of their horses.\* The camels of the kings of Midian, whom Gideon discomfited, were, agreeably to this custom, adorned with chains of gold.

The signet used by kings and persons of rank in the east was a ring which served all the purposes of sealing. All the orientals, instead of signature by sign manual, use the impression of a seal on which their name and title (if they have one) is engraved. Among an intriguing and malicious people, it is so easy to turn the possession of a man's seal to his disgrace, by making out false documents, that the loss of it always produces great concern. This shews how much Judah put himself in the power of Tamar, when he gave her his signet ; and one reason of his anxiety, " Let her take it to her, lest we be ashamed," may therefore mean something beyond the mere discovery of the immoral action ; " Lest by some undue advantage taken of the signet, I may be endangered." In an Indian court, the monarch still takes the

\* Trav. vol. i, p. 264.

ring from his finger, and affixes it to the decree; and orders the posts to be dispatched to the provinces, as in the reign of Ahasuerus.<sup>1</sup> When an eastern prince delivers the seal of empire to a royal guest, he treats him as a superior; but when he delivers it to a subject, it is only a sign of investiture with office. Thus the king of Egypt took off his ring from his hand and put it upon Joseph's hand, when he made him ruler over all his dominions; and the king of Persia took off the ring which he had taken from Haman and gave it unto Mordecai.<sup>2</sup>

The orientals looked upon a seat by a pillar or column as a particular mark of respect. In the *Iliad*, Homer places Ulysses on a lofty throne, by a pillar; and in the *Odyssey*, he more than once alludes to the same custom.<sup>3</sup> The kings of Israel were, for the same reason, placed at their coronation, or on days of public festivity, by a pillar in the house of the Lord. Joash, the king of Judah, stood by a pillar when he was admitted to the throne of his ancestors;<sup>4</sup> and Josiah, one of his successors, when he made a covenant before the Lord.<sup>5</sup>

The subjects of oriental princes approach them with expressions of reverence, homage, and submission, which amount nearly to religious adoration; and even when not carried so far, are equally degrading and absurd. Forgetting the erect dignity of the human character in their intercourse with fellow-mortals, and what every man owes

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxviii, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xli, 42; and, *Ezra*, viii, 2. *Morier's Trav.* vol. i, p. 49. *Herbes's Orient. Mem.* vol. iii, p. 198. *Malcom's Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 76, 261, 584.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib.* vi, l. 307; *lib.* xiii, l. 93; and *lib.* viii, l. 60.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xi, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ch.* xxiii, 8.

to himself, in the presence of the great they are not satisfied with yielding them that respect to which they are fairly entitled, but humble themselves to the very dust before their horses feet, and kiss the earth in token of their obedience.\* When Joseph's brethren were introduced to him, they bowed down themselves before him, with their faces to the earth. The kings of Persia, in the height of their power, never admitted any person into their presence without exacting this act of *adoration*; the name which it uniformly received. The expressions, therefore, of the prophet Isaiah, "They shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth; they shall lick the very dust," "are only general poetical images taken from the manners of the country, to denote great respect and reverence; and such splendid figures, which frequently occur in the prophetic writings, were intended only as general amplifications of the subject, not as predictions to be understood and fulfilled precisely according to the letter."<sup>a</sup>

"When the king" of Persia "is seated in public, his sons, ministers and courtiers, stand erect, with their hands crossed, and in the exact place of their rank. They watch the looks of the sovereign, and a glance is a mandate. If he speak to them, you hear a voice reply, and see their lips move, but not a motion nor gesture betrays that there is animation in any other part of their frame."<sup>b</sup> When he places himself at the windows of his palace, his domestics take their station in the court before it, hard by the fountain which plays in the middle, to watch the looks of

\* Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 280.

<sup>a</sup> Lowth on Isaiah, vol. ii, p. 307.

<sup>b</sup> Orme's Hist. of Military Transactions, vol. iv, p. 426. Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 554.

their lord.<sup>c</sup> A principal part of the regal state in Persia consists in the number of the men who stand before the monarch; and we learn from the address of the queen of Sheba to Solomon that he was not indifferent to this part of eastern splendour.<sup>d</sup> It is reckoned an act of great humility in the king of Persia, or even in a person of high rank, to walk on foot, this being a part of the service exacted from servants. When a prince or great man goes abroad, he is mounted on a horse, and always attended by a multitude of servants on foot, one bearing his pipe, another his shoes, another his cloak, a fourth his saddle-cloth, and so on, the number increasing with the dignity of the master. These statements impart great force to the remark of the wise man: "I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth."<sup>e</sup> The compliments which they addressed to their princes, and the manner in which they spoke of them, were not less hyperbolical. The address of the wise woman of Tekoah to David, furnishes a memorable example of the extravagant adulation in which they indulged, and which seems to have been received with entire satisfaction by one of the wisest and holiest of men: "As an angel of God, so is my lord the king, to discern good and bad;" and again, "My lord is wise according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth."<sup>f</sup> Equally hyperbolical was the reply of a Persian grandee to Charidan, who objected to the price which the king had set upon a pretty rich trinket: "Know that the kings of Persia have a general and full knowledge of matters, as sure as

<sup>c</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 522.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 10, 8. Mörner's Trav. vol. i, p. 130.

<sup>e</sup> Eccl. x, 7. Mörner's Trav. vol. i, p. 106. <sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. xiv, 17, 20.



it is extensive ; and that equally in the greatest and in the smallest things, there is nothing more just and sure than what they pronounce.”<sup>s</sup> This incident admirably shews the strong prepossession of these Asiatics in favour of their kings, or rather of their own slavery ; and gives some plausibility to the remark of Mr. Harmer, that there may be more of real persuasion in such addresses than we are ready to apprehend. In the estimation of the Persian courtier, the knowledge of his prince was like that of an angel of God. If the ancient Egyptians supposed their princes were possessed of equal knowledge and sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to his brother Joseph was a very high one, and, at the same time, couched in the most artful terms : “Thou art even as Pharaoh ;” knowing, and wise, and equitable as he. But it cannot be inferred, with any degree of certainty, from these customs, that either the Persian grandee, or the brother of Joseph, really believed such compliments were due. The former, most probably, thought it incumbent upon him to support the dignity of his master, especially in the presence of many of his nobles, or expressed himself in such extravagant terms, merely in compliance with the etiquette of the court ; and as for Judah, it was his desire to soothe with good words and fair speeches the second ruler in Egypt, whose resentment he knew it was death to incur ; and no compliment could be supposed more acceptable to an Egyptian grandee than the one which he paid to his unknown brother. The same remark applies, with little variation, to the woman of Tekoah ; her design was to soothe the mind of her sovereign, to mitigate, and, if possible, to extinguish his just resent-

<sup>s</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 517.

ment of the atrocious murder which Absalom had committed, and procure the restoration of the fratricide to his country, and the presence of his father.

It was a common practice in the east, and one which, on certain great and joyful occasions, has been practised in other countries, to strew flowers and branches of trees in the way of conquerors and renowned princes. Herodotus states, that people went before Xerxes passing over the Hellespont, and burnt all manner of perfumes on the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtles.<sup>a</sup> So did those Jews who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah; and the king of Israel; they cut down branches of the trees, and strewed them in the way. Sometimes the whole road which leads to the capital of an eastern monarch, for several miles, is covered with rich silks over which he rides into the city.<sup>1</sup> Agreeably to this custom, the multitudes spread their garments in the way when the Saviour rode in triumph into Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The interest which the subjects of the Mogul felt, or rather pretended to feel, in his personal prosperity, was long manifested by a very curious ceremony. On his birthday, in obedience to an ancient custom, he is weighed in a balance, in the presence of his principal nobility. The ceremony is performed in a spacious apartment of his palace, into which none are admitted but by special permission. The scales in which the emperor was weighed when Sir Thomas Roe resided at his court, were plated with gold; and the beam on which they hung, by great chains, was made of the same precious metal. The emperor, sitting in one of these scales, was weighed first against silver coin,

<sup>a</sup> Lib. vii, cap. 54.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxi, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. i, p. 586.

which was immediately afterwards distributed among the poor; then he was weighed against gold; after that against jewels. By his weight, (of which his physicians keep an exact yearly account,) they presume to give an opinion relative to the present healthful state of his body; of which, whatever be their real sentiments, they always speak in flattering terms. This ceremony of weighing the emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice every year, in the solar and the lunar anniversary of his birth; and according as he is lighter or heavier than before, the physician appointed to attend pronounces him in a prosperous or declining state.<sup>j</sup> Hence the doom of Balshazzar, written upon the wall, admits of a literal interpretation; it alludes to a custom which the Hindoos, when they emigrated from Persia, the land of their fathers, carried with them, and transmitted through a long succession of ages, down to modern times.

The orientals, as a proof of the profoundest reverence, kissed the fringe of the robe which their sovereign wore. They carried their submission so far as to kiss the letters in which his orders were communicated; and they treated with almost equal respect the mandates of his chief ministers.<sup>k</sup> The editor of the ruins of Balbec observed, that the Arab governor of that city respectfully applied the firman or letter, containing the commands of the grand signior, to his forehead, when he and his fellow-travelers first waited upon him, and then applied it to his lips.<sup>l</sup> To this custom Mr. Harmer thinks Pharaoh probably refers in these words to Joseph: "Thou shalt be over

<sup>j</sup> Maurice's Hist. vol. iii, p. 328. Indian Antiq. vol. vi, p. 60. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 310. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 351.

<sup>k</sup> Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 113, 162, P. 4.

my house; and according to thy word shall my people be ruled, (or kiss, as it is in the original) only on the throne will I be greater than thou."<sup>18</sup>

The Arabs of mount Carmel, when they present any petition to their chief, offer it with their right hand, after having first kissed the paper." To this custom the words of Solomon seem to allude: "Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer."<sup>19</sup> The Hebrew manner of expression is short and abrupt: "Every lip shall kiss, one maketh to return a right answer; that is, every one shall be ready to present the state of his case, kissing it, as he delivers it to the judge, on whose integrity and abilities he can rely.

When Soliman ascended the throne, "the letter which was to be presented to the new monarch, was delivered to the general of the slaves, contained in a purse of cloth of gold, drawn together with strings of twisted gold and silk, with tassels of the same. The general threw himself at his majesty's feet, bowing to the very ground; then rising upon his knees, he drew out of the bosom of his garment, the bag containing the letter which the assembly had sent to the new monarch. Presently he opened the bag, took out the letter, kissed it, laid it to his forehead, presented it to his majesty, and then rose up."<sup>20</sup> To such a custom Job evidently refers in these words: "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book, surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me,"<sup>21</sup> or, on my head.

If the king of Persia beekon to any of his train, it is

<sup>18</sup> Gen. xii, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Prov. xxiv, 26.

<sup>20</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 155.

<sup>21</sup> Chardin's Cbron. of Soliman, p. 44.

<sup>22</sup> Job xxxi, 36.

the etiquette to run forward, and if on horseback to advance at a full trot. This custom seems to be referred to in many passages of Scripture; as in that prayer of the spouse: "Draw me, we will run after thee;" and in the following prediction: "Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the holy One of Israel, for he hath glorified thee." In the same manner the Jews testified their high respect for the Saviour: "And straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him saluted him."<sup>2</sup>

Every person that approaches the royal presence is obliged to take off his shoes, because they consider as sacred the ground on which the king sits, whom they dignify with the title of the Shadow of God. Allusive to this custom, perhaps, is the command given to Joshua: "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place wherein thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so."<sup>3</sup> And so strictly was this custom observed, that the Persians look upon the omission of it as the greatest indignity that can be offered to them.<sup>4</sup>

An Indian prince goes abroad in his palanquin, a kind of bed, in which he reclines or sits in state when he pays visits of ceremony, or reposes during a journey, as if he were in his own bed. These words in the Song of Solomon exactly describe the procession of an Indian prince in his palanquin, surrounded by his guards: "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of

<sup>2</sup> Song i, 4. Isa. lv, 5. Mark ix, 15, &c. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 386, 387.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. v, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 241.

smoke. --- Behold, his bed, which is Solomon's : three-score valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel."†

His hakery, or chariot, has a canopy or dome, covered with cloth or velvet, richly embroidered and fringed, supported by pillars, ornamented with silver and gold, often inlaid with sandal-wood and ivory ; as is the bottom, or framework, raised above the wheels. With this, says Forbes, seems to correspond the chariot which king Solomon made himself of the wood of Lebanon.‡

Herodotus relates, that the kings of Persia had horses peculiar to themselves, that were brought from Armenia, and were remarkable for their beauty.\* If the same law prevailed in Persia as did in Judea, no man might ride on the king's horse, any more than sit on his throne, or hold his sceptre. This clearly discovers the extent of Haman's ambition, when he proposed to bring " the royal apparel which the king used to wear, and the horse that the king rode upon, and the crown which is set upon his head." The crown royal was not to be set on the head of the man, but on the head of the horse ; this interpretation is allowed by Aben Ezra, by the Targum, and by the Syriac version. No mention is afterwards made of the crown as set upon the head of Mordecai, nor would Haman have dared to advise what by the laws of Persia could not be granted. But it was usual to put the crown royal on the head of a horse led in state ; and this we are assured, is a custom in Persia, as it is with the Ethiopians to this day ; from them it passed into Italy ; for the horses which the Romans yoked in their triumphal chariots were adorned with crowns.‡

† Song iii, 7.      ‡ Song iii, 9. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 193.

\* See also Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. vii, p. 483.      † Dr. Gill in loc.

The eastern princesses were treated with a respect proportioned to the homage which was given to their lords. An Arabian princess who made a visit to the wife of the great emir, when D'Arvieux resided in his camp, was mounted on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers; twelve women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand, while they sung the praises of their mistress, and songs which expressed the joy and happiness of being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those who marched first, and were at a greater distance from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter, which place, as being the post of honour, they quitted to others, when the princess had gone a few paces. In this order they marched to the tent where they alighted. They then sung altogether, the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princess. This account illustrates a passage in the prophet Nahum, in which he describes the introduction of the queen of Nineveh, or that imperial city itself, under the figure of a queen to her conqueror: "And Huzzab shall be led away captive, she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves." Here the prophet describes her as led by her maids with the voice of doves, that is, with the voice of mourning; their usual songs of joy, with which they were accustomed to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princess, being turned into lamentations.\*

The last emblem of power and authority among the kings and governors of the east which I shall mention, is the horn. This is worn over all the east, and is the symbol of strength and power. It adorns the heads of all

\* Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 417. D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Pal. p. 249.

princely personages in oriental mythology. Large horns, representing the glory of deity, are planted on the heads of their idols, or placed in their hands. To this last circumstance the prophet seems to refer: "He had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power."<sup>7</sup> If this symbol was, according to the custom of the east, a crescent of the size of the moon when six days old, it was a very striking emblem of the rising power and expanding glory of Israel.<sup>8</sup>

The Indian soldier wears a horn of steel on the front of his helmet, directly over the forehead. In Abyssinia the head-dress of the provincial governors, according to Mr. Bruce,<sup>9</sup> consists of a large broad fillet bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this rises a horn, or conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, a slight corruption of the Hebrew word *keren*, a horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. The crooked manner in which they hold the neck when this ornament is on their forehead, for fear it should fall forward, seems to agree with what the Psalmist calls speaking with a stiff neck: "Lift not your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck;" for it perfectly shews the meaning of speaking

<sup>7</sup> Habak. iii, 4. Maurice's *Indian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 353; vol. iii, p. 25, 84, 210; vol. iv, p. 232, 324; vol. vi, p. 108, 109, 135, 161, 190, 191.

<sup>8</sup> "Perhaps," says Dr. Brown in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, "a remnant of this ancient practice is to be found still in the neighbourhood of Lebanon; for Captain Light, anno 1814, saw the females of the Maronites and Druses wearing on their heads a tin or silver conical tube, about twelve inches long, and twice the size of a common post-horn, over which was thrown a white piece of linen that completely enveloped the body. The horn of the emir's wife was of gold, enriched with precious stones." Vol. ii, p. 304. See p. 43 of this Volume.

<sup>9</sup> *Trav.* vol. iv, p. 407.



in this attitude, when the horn is held exact like the horn of a unicorn.<sup>a</sup> An allusion is made to this custom in another passage: "But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn."<sup>b</sup> To raise the horn was to clothe one with authority, or to do him honour; to lower it, cut it off, or take it away, to deprive one of power, or to treat him with disrespect. Such were the "horns of iron" which Zedekiah made for himself, when he presumed, in the name of Jehovah, to flatter his prince with the promise of victory over his enemies: "Thus saith the Lord, with these" military insignia "shalt thou push the Syrians until thou hast consumed them."<sup>c</sup> They were military ornaments, the symbols of strength, and courage and power.

But while the orientals had their emblems of honour, and tokens of regard, they had also peculiar customs expressive of contempt or dislike; of which the first I shall mention is cutting off the beard. Even to talk disrespectfully of a Persian's beard, is the greatest insult that can be offered to him, and an attempt to touch it would probably be followed by the instant death of the offender.<sup>d</sup> Cutting off the beard is reckoned so great a mark of infamy among the Arabs, that many of them would prefer death to such a dishonour. They set the highest value upon this appurtenance of the male; for when they would express their value for a thing, they say it is worth more than his beard; they even beg for the sake of it, "By your beard, by the life of your beard, do." This shews, according to the oriental mode of thinking, the magnitude

<sup>a</sup> Nah. ii, 7.

<sup>b</sup> Psa. xcii, 10.

<sup>c</sup> Calmet, vol. iii. 1 Kings xxii, 11.

<sup>d</sup> Kinnier's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, p. 24.

of the affront which Hanan offered to the ambassadors of David, when he took them and shaved off the one half of their beards.\* It was still, in times comparatively modern, the greatest indignity that can be offered in Persia.<sup>f</sup> Sha Abbas, king of that country, enraged that the emperor of Hindostan had inadvertently addressed him by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, ordered the beards of the ambassadors to be shaved off, and sent them home to their master.<sup>g</sup> This ignominious treatment discovers also the propriety and force of the type of hair in the prophecies of Ezekiel; where the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to the hair of his head and beard, to intimate that they had been as dear to God as the beard was to the Jews; yet for their wickedness they should be cut off and destroyed.

To send an open letter, was considered as a mark of great disrespect. A letter has its Hebrew name from the circumstance of its being rolled or folded together. The modern Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch; and, instead of sealing them, paste up their ends. The Persians make up their letters in a roll about six inches long, a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink. In Turkey, letters are commonly sent to persons of distinction in a bag or purse; to equals they are also enclosed, but to inferiors, or those who are held in contempt, they are sent open or unenclosed.<sup>h</sup> This explains the reason of Nehemiah's observation: "Then sent San-

\* 2 Sam. x, 4.

<sup>f</sup> Niebuhr's Trav. p. 275.

<sup>g</sup> Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. iv, p. 476.

<sup>h</sup> Norden's Trav. vol. ii, p. 8, 71, 109. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 136. D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 58.

ballat his servant unto me . . . with an open letter in his hand."<sup>1</sup> In refusing him the mark of respect usually paid to persons of his station, and treating him contemptuously, by sending the letter without the customary appendages, when presented to persons of respectability, Sanballat offered him a deliberate insult. Had this open letter come from Geshem, who was an Arab, it might have passed unnoticed, but as it came from Sanballat, the governor had reason to expect the ceremony of enclosing it in a bag, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and at that time governor of Judea.

One of the most significant expressions of strong disapprobation was the shaking of the lap. When the Jews opposed the apostle Paul and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them, "Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean."<sup>2</sup> This action is still a common mark of reprobation in Turkey.<sup>3</sup>

The last mark of disrespect, which is by no means confined to the east, is to spit in the face of another. Chardin observes, that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the east, an expression of extreme detestation. It is, therefore, prescribed by the law of Moses, as a mark of great disgrace to be fixed on the man who failed in his duty to the house of his brother.<sup>4</sup> To such contemptuous treatment, it will be recollected, our blessed Redeemer submitted in the hall of the high priest, for the sake of his people. The practice has descended to modern times; for in the year 1744, when a rebel prisoner was brought

<sup>1</sup> Neh. vi, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xviii, 6; also Neh. v, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxv, 9. Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 439, 440.

before Nadir Shah's general, the soldiers were ordered to spit in his face; which proves that the savage conduct of the Jews corresponded with a custom which had been long established over all the east.

## CHAP. IX.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE HONOURS SHEWN TO THE DEAD.

*Duties belonging to the dead reckoned sacred.—The parting kiss.—Closing the eyes and binding up the face.—Washing the body.—Swathing it in linen.—Anointing it with oil.—Wrapping it in the garments the dead had usually worn.—The body embalmed.—Laid out shrouded in its grave-clothes.—Watched while thus exposed.—Vessel of water placed at the door.—Body laid in a coffin.—Carried out on a bier.—Laid by the Israelites in the dust.—Ancients attached very great importance to burial. Desire of reposing in the sepulchres of our fathers.—Funeral procession.—Professional mourners.—Sorrow of relations testified by cutting their arms with daggers.—Bury their dead generally without the walls of their cities.—Sepulchres of the Hebrews.—Tombs of Telmessus.—The cæres, or sarcophagus.—Tombs of Maori.—Tombs of Tiberias.—Tombs of Naples.—Tombs of the common people.—All of them kept clean and white.—The Jews placed their dead in niches.—Jewish tombs closed with a large broad stone.—Tokens of sorrow among the bereaved Greeks, and others.—Oriental mourners often proceeded to great excesses.—Burning brimstone in the house of the deceased.—Funeral obsequies concluded by a feast.—Consequences of the death of a king of Persia.—Relations return on the third or fourth day to condole with the bereaved.—The oriental mourner distinguished by the slovenliness of his dress.—Time of mourning for the dead.—Jews accustomed to visit the sepulchres of their deceased friends three days.—In some parts of Judea they went occasionally to weep at the graves.—Chambers built over them.—Gilt burnt in honour of the dead.—*

*Lacrymal urns.—Kings and princes often subjected to trial after their death.—In Egypt persons of every rank and condition subjected to trial.*

THE duties belonging to the dead, have been reckoned eminently sacred in every age, and among every people. The most barbarous nations have regarded the dust of their departed relatives, as sacred and inviolable. In Greece, to refuse the manes of their departed friends any part of their accustomed regard, or to neglect any the least duty to which they were thought entitled, was deemed a greater crime than to violate the temples, and plunder the shrines of their gods. They preserved their memories with religious care and reverence ; they went so far as to honour their remains with worship and adoration ; at the grave of an enemy, they relinquished for ever their hatred and envy, and stigmatised a disposition to speak evil of the dead as cruel and inhuman. To prosecute revenge beyond the grave, was classed with the foulest actions of which any man could be guilty ; no provocations, no affronts from the deceased while alive, or from their children after their death, were deemed sufficient to warrant so nefarious a deed. To disturb the ashes of the dead, fixed a stain on the character of the perpetrator, which no length of time, nor change of circumstances could remove.\*

These sentiments, refined and directed by the dictates and influence of a purer faith, were deeply graven on the heart of a genuine Israelite. In mournful silence, he attended the dying bed of his friend or parent, to receive his last advice, and obtain his blessing. Persuaded that the souls of good men acquired a greater degree of vigour

\* Potter's *Grecian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 161.

and elevation, as they drew near the end of their course, and were favoured with a clearer and more extensive prospect of things to come, he reckoned it his duty and his privilege to catch every sentence from the lips of the dying, and especially to mark the solemn moment when the vital functions ceased, and the liberated soul took her flight into the world of spirits. As soon as the last breath had fled, the nearest relation, or the dearest friend, gave the lifeless body the parting kiss, the last farewell and sign of affection to the departed relative.<sup>b</sup> This was a custom of immemorial antiquity; for the patriarch Jacob had no sooner yielded up his spirit, than his beloved Joseph, claiming for once the right of the first born, "fell upon his face and kissed him." It is probable he first closed his eyes, as God had promised he should do, (Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes), and then parted from his body with a kiss. In these particulars the ancient Greeks clearly imitated the Jews; when they saw their friends and relations at the point of resigning their lives, they came close to the bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying words, which they never repeated without reverence. The want of opportunity to pay this compliment to Hector, his widowed spouse laments in these affecting strains:

*Οὐ γὰρ ποτὶ θανάτῳ λελυμένος ἐκχέουσιν οὐδὲς ῥέο.* Il. lib. xxiv, l. 743.

"For when dying, thou hast not stretched out thy hand from the bed to me: thou hast not given me sound advice, which I might still bear in sad remembrance, and with tears, repeat night and day." They also took their last farewell, by kissing and embracing the dead body. Thus Ovid represents Niobe as kissing her deceased sons;

<sup>b</sup> *Æneid.* lib. vi, l. 684, and lib. ix, l. 487.

and Corrippus, Justin the younger, as falling upon Justinian, and kissing him with many tears.\*

The parting kiss being given, the company rent their clothes, which was a custom of great antiquity, and the highest expression of grief in the primitive ages. This ceremony was never omitted by the Hebrews when any mournful event happened, and was performed in the following manner; they took a knife, and holding the blade downwards, gave the upper garment a cut in the right side, and rent it an hand's breadth. For very near relations, all the garments are rent on the right side.

After closing the eyes, the next care was to bind up the face, which it was no more lawful to behold. The Greeks also were careful to close the eyes of their departed friends, and to cover their faces; both to prevent the horror which the pale and unyielding features, and particularly the eyes of the dead, are apt to excite, and for the satisfaction of the dying, who are usually desirous to spare, as much as possible, the feelings of their surviving relations, and to appear, even after death, as little as may be, the objects of disgust or aversion to those whom they still esteem and love. Hence the ghost of Agamemnon complained that his wife Clytemnestra had neglected

Ἰστέρι καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴλεον, τοῖς τε καὶ ᾤχετο. *Odys.* lib. xi, l. 419.

“to close with her hands his eyes and his mouth.” And in Euripides, when Hippolytus felt himself at the point of death, he called upon his father Theseus quickly to cover his face with a sheet:

Κεῖνος δὲ μοι προσέειπε δὲ σάκεα πικρὰ. *Hippolytus* v. 1458.

The next care of surviving friends is to wash the body,

\* Potter's *Grecian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 176.

probably, that the ointments and perfumes with which it is to be wrapped up, may enter more easily into the pores, when they are opened by warm water. This ablution, which was always esteemed an act of great charity and devotion, is performed by women.<sup>4</sup> Thus the body of Dorcas was washed, and laid in an upper room, till the arrival of the apostle Peter, in the hope that his prayers might restore her to life. After the body is washed, it is shrouded, and swathed with a linen cloth, although in most places, they only put on a pair of drawers and a white shift; and the head is bound about with a napkin: such were the napkin and grave-clothes, in which the Saviour was buried.

The Greeks and Romans, after washing, anointed the body with oil, or some precious ointment.\* Homer frequently mentions the custom of anointing the dead, but takes notice of no other unguent but oil. Thus they anointed the body of Patroclus:

Καὶ τότε δὲ λουσίη, καὶ ἠλίουφαι λαν' ἔλαυν. *Il.* lib. xviii, l. 350.

“As soon as washed, they anointed him with oil.”

After it was washed and anointed, they wrapped it in a garment, which seems to have been no other than the cloak of the deceased. Thus Misenus, being first washed and anointed, then (as the custom was), laid upon a bed, was wrapped in the garments he had usually worn:

“Pars calidos lutes et athena cadentis flammis  
Expediunt corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.”

*Æneid.* lib. vi, l. 218.

“Some get ready warm water and caldrons bubbling from the flames, and wash and anoint his cold limbs:

<sup>4</sup> *Potter's Gr. Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 180. *Adam's Rom. Antiq.* p. 472.

\* *Æneid.* lib. vi, l. 218.



They fetch a groan ; then lay the bewailed body on a couch, and throw over it the purple robes, his wonted apparel.”<sup>f</sup>

The body was then embalmed, which was performed by the Egyptians after the following method : the brain was removed with a bent iron, and the vacuity filled up with medicaments ; the bowels were also drawn out, and the trunk being stuffed with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense, which were proper to exsicate the humours, it was pickled in nitre, in which it lay for seventy days. After this period, it was wrapped in bandages of fine linen and gums, to make it adhere ; and was then delivered to the relations of the deceased entire ; all its features, and the very hairs of the eyelids being preserved. In this manner were the kings of Judah embalmed for many ages.

But when the funeral obsequies were not long delayed, they used another kind of embalming. They wrapped up the body with sweet spices and odours, without extracting the brain, or removing the bowels. This is the way in which it was proposed to embalm the sacred body of our Saviour ; which was prevented by his resurrection.<sup>g</sup> This last seems to be properly what the ancients denominated embalming ; for Moses observes, in reference to Jacob, “ Forty days were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those who are embalmed), and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.” We learn from two Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers ; which, according to Hero-

<sup>f</sup> Davidson’s Translation. See also *Æneid*. lib. ix, l. 488.

<sup>g</sup> Harmer’s *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 73.

dotus, was seventy days.<sup>b</sup> It lay in nitre thirty days, for the purpose of drying up all its superfluous and noxious moisture; and the remaining forty, (the time mentioned by Diodorus),<sup>c</sup> were employed in anointing it with gums and spices, to preserve it; which we infer from the words of Moses, was the proper embalming. The former circumstance explains the reason, why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days; the latter explains the meaning of the forty days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed.<sup>d</sup>

The ancient Greeks were accustomed to lay out the body after it was shrouded in its grave-clothes; sometimes upon a bier, which they bedecked with various sorts of flowers. The place where the bodies were laid out, was near the door of the house: there the friends of the deceased attended them with loud lamentations; a custom which still continues to be observed among that people. Dr. Chandler, when travelling in Greece, saw a woman at Megara, sitting with the door of her cottage open, lamenting her dead husband aloud; and at Zante, a woman in a house with the door open, bewailing her little son, whose body lay by her dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted, and bedecked with gold leaf.<sup>e</sup> This custom of mourning for the dead, near the door of the house, was probably borrowed from the Syrians; and if so, it will serve to illustrate an obscure expression of Moses, relative to Abraham: "And Sarah died in Kirjatharba; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her."<sup>f</sup> He came out of his own separate tent, and seating

<sup>b</sup> Lib. i, cap. 86.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. i, c. 91, p. 101, 102.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>e</sup> See Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, chap. vii, throughout. Chandler's Trav. p. 195. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 184.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xxiii, 2.

himself on the ground near the door of her tent, where her corpse was placed, that he might perform those public solemn rites of mourning, that were required, as well by decency as affection, lamented with many tears the loss he had sustained.

While the body lay exposed in this manner, it was customary to give it constant attendance, to defend it from any violence or affront that might be offered: Whence Achilles says of his friend Patroclus,

Ος μοι νιν πλέοντα διδασκόμενος ἔει' χαλκῷ, &c. *Il. lib. xix, l. 211.*

“Slain at the entrance of the tent he lies; while his companions mourn around.” And a little before, we find him so passionately concerned lest flies and vermin should pollute the corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the battle, till Thetis promised to guard it.<sup>1</sup> Not less attentive were the Jews, to the dust of their departed friends, of which Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, furnished a striking and affecting example; she “took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest, until water dropped” upon the dead bodies of her two sons, and the five sons of Michal, the daughter of Saul, who were put to death for the treachery of their father, “and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night.”<sup>2</sup>

Before the door of the house where the corpse lay, stood a vessel of water, the design of which was, that those who had been employed about the dead body might purify themselves by washing; for the heathen world thought themselves polluted by the contact of a dead body, and even considered the house where it lay, not

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad. lib. xix, l. 25.*

<sup>2</sup> *2 Sam. xxi, 10. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 185.*

altogether free from pollution. Euripides accordingly makes Helena say, "Our houses are sacred, not defiled by the death of Menelaus:"

*Καθαρα γὰρ ἔσμεν δαίμων', ὡς καὶ εἰσάδε*

*ψυχῆν' ἄφρονος Μενελάου.*

*Helena, v. 1446.*

The Romans had the same idea; only instead of placing a vessel of water at the door, they appointed one to go round and purify the attendants.<sup>a</sup> The air proceeding from a dead body, was thought to pollute every thing into which it entered; this is the reason that every open vessel, as well as the whole house, underwent a general purification, immediately after the funeral solemnities were over. In these sentiments and customs, we discover a faint trace of the laws respecting dead bodies, which were given from the top of Sinai to the people of Israel. "He that toucheth the dead body of a man shall be unclean seven days. He shall purify himself with it on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be clean." --- "This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent; all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. And every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it, shall be unclean."<sup>b</sup>

The body, after being exposed at the door of the house, or in some open apartment, the usual number of days, was laid in a coffin. This, however, seems to have been an honour commonly reserved for persons of better condition; for on any other supposition, it is not easy to account for the remark of the inspired writer, that the body of Joseph, after being embalmed, was put in a coffin in Egypt.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Æneid. lib. vi, l. 229, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> *Gen. 1, 26.*

<sup>c</sup> *Numb. xix, 11, 12, 14, 15. See Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. II, p. 188, 189.*

The meaner sort of people seem to have been interred in their grave-clothes, without a coffin.<sup>a</sup> In this manner was the sacred body of our Lord committed to the tomb.

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, which bore some resemblance to a coffin or bed, in order to be carried out to burial. Upon one of these was carried forth the widow's son of Nain, whom our compassionate Lord raised to life, and restored to his mother. We are informed in the history of the kings of Judah, that Asa being dead, they laid him in the bed, which was filled with sweet odours. Josephus, the Jewish historian, describing the funeral of Herod the great, says, his bed was adorned with precious stones; his body rested under a purple covering; he had a diadem and a crown of gold upon his head, a sceptre in his hand; and that all his house followed the bed.<sup>c</sup> The bier used by the Turks at Aleppo, says Russel, is a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only the lid rises with a ledge in the middle.<sup>d</sup> Christians, according to the same author, are carried to the grave in an open bier of the same kind as that used by the people of Nain. But the Jews seem to have conveyed their dead bodies to their funerals without any support, as may be inferred from the history of Ananias and his wife Sapphira: "And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out and buried him."<sup>e</sup> With equal dispatch they carried forth Sapphira, and buried her by her husband. No hint is given of a bier in either

<sup>a</sup> Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 371. The body which this traveller saw, was wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on cords between two poles, borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus' Antiq. book xvii, chap. viii, sec. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 306; and vol. ii, p. 56.

<sup>e</sup> Acts 5, 6.

of these cases ; and the incidents of the story follow one another so rapidly, that we cannot suppose they took time to go and bring one ; and as such a scene was not expected, we have no reason to conclude they had one in readiness. This simple method of conveying a dead body to the grave, was familiar to the most ancient Greeks ; for when Patroclus was carried forth by the myrmidons, Achilles went behind to support his head :

*Ὀπίσσω δὲ παρὲν ἔχει διὰς Ἀχαιεύς.*

*Il. lib. xxiii, l. 196.*

The Israelites committed the dead to their native dust ; and from the Egyptians, probably borrowed the practice of burning many spices at their funerals. " They buried Asa in his own sepulchres, which he made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries' art ; and they made a very great burning for him."<sup>u</sup> The Old Testament historian entirely justifies the account which the Evangelist gives, of the quantity of spices with which the sacred body of Christ was swathed. The Jews object to the quantity used on that occasion, as unnecessarily profuse, and even incredible ; but it appears from their own writings, that spices were used at such times in great abundance. In the Talmud, it is said, that no less than eighty pounds of spices were consumed at the funeral of Rabbi Gamaliel the elder. And at the funeral of Herod, if we may believe the account of their most celebrated historian, the procession was followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices.<sup>v</sup> Why then should it be reckoned incredible, that Nicodemus brought of myrrh and aloes

<sup>u</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 189, 190, 192.

<sup>v</sup> 2 Chron. xvi, 14.

<sup>v</sup> Josephus' Antiq. book xvii, ch. viii, sec. 8.

about an hundred pounds weight, to embalm the body of Jesus?

Nothing, in the estimation of the ancients, could compensate for the want of burial; and to be deprived of a grave they reckoned one of the greatest calamities by which they could be overtaken. In Greece, a person guilty of suffering even the dead body of a stranger, found in the field, or on the shore, to remain unburied, was not permitted to converse with men, nor appear in the temples; but was considered as profane and polluted, the just object of divine vengeance, and human detestation.<sup>\*</sup> A Roman general was held by his fellow-citizens in utter abhorrence, because he had left the bones of his soldiers without the rites of burial on the field of battle. The strong prepossessions of the heathen exerted no influence on the mind of God's ancient people: Instructed by the word of revelation, they well knew that the state of the lifeless body can neither facilitate nor retard the return of the spirit to God who gave it; but they justly thought it belonged to the decencies of life, and was even allied to humanity, to hide in the tomb a frame, which like their own was lately the habitation of a reasonable soul. These natural feelings give a peculiar emphasis to the words of the prophet: "His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost;" and to the complaint of the Psalmist, "Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth." Mr. Bruce relates a circumstance which shews that these words, in whatever way they are to be understood, might be literally verified: In prosecuting his journey towards the capital of Abyssinia, he arrived,

<sup>\*</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 162.

<sup>†</sup> Jer. xxxvi, 30.

with his attendants, at the village of Garigana, whose inhabitants had all perished with hunger the year before; their wretched bones being all unburied and scattered upon the surface of the ground where the village formerly stood. They encamped among the bones of the dead; no space could be found free from them. To persons, however little civilized, and particularly to the Jews, who trembled at the idea of their bones being scattered about in the open field, such a spectacle must have been very revolting, and have filled the mind with many painful reflections.

Nearly connected with this desire is another equally strong and general, of reposing in the sepulchres of our fathers. To be buried in a foreign land, the Greeks looked upon as a very great misfortune, not much inferior to the loss of life. Thus Electra, in Sophocles, having preserved Orestes from Clytemnestra, by sending him into a foreign country, and many years after, hearing he had ended his days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many years continuance of life, have died from home, and been deprived of the last offices of his friends. This sentiment is admirably expressed in the epitaph of Leonidas the Tarentine, quoted by Potter :

Πάλλει ἀπ' Ἰταλίας κίμαι χθονὶς ἀπὸς Ταραντὸς  
Πάτριν, ὅτε δὲ μοι κταρόμεν θάνατον.

“ Far from the land of Italy I lie, and from Tarentum, my native soil, which is more grievous to me than death itself.” This is the reason that the bodies of those who died in foreign countries were often brought home, by the kindness of their surviving relations, and interred with great solemnity in the sepulchres of their fathers. Thus Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens; Orestes



from Tegea, and his son Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta; and Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene.<sup>7</sup> The desire of Jacob to be buried in his native land, was partly the natural feeling of the human breast, and partly the effect of religious principle; the unequivocal expression of his faith and hope, that the promise of Jehovah to bestow the land of Canaan upon his posterity, for an inheritance, should in due time be faithfully performed. The solemnity and earnestness of the charge which the dying patriarch gave with his latest breath, to his attending sons, shews how deeply he felt on that point: "And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers in the cave, that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre; in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a burying-place.\*

The funeral procession was attended by professional mourners, eminently skilled in the art of lamentation, whom the friends and relations of the deceased hired, to assist them in expressing their sorrow. They began the ceremony with the stridulous voices of old women, who strove, by their doleful modulations, to extort grief from those that were present. The children in the streets through which they passed, often suspended their sports, to imitate the sounds, and joined with equal sincerity in the lamentations. "But whereunto shall I liken this gene-

<sup>7</sup> *Potter's Gr. Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 163. See also *Odyssey*, lib. xi, l. 57-78; where the ghost of Elpenor conjures Ulysses, by every tender and every awful consideration, to commit his ashes to the grave in due form, and raise over them a mound on the shore of the foaming ocean, and fix the oar with which he rowed upon the summit.

\* *Gen.* xlix, 29, 30.

ration; it is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented."<sup>a</sup> Music was afterwards introduced to aid the voices of the mourners: the trumpet was used at the funerals of the great, and the small pipe or flute for those of meaner condition. Hired mourners were in use among the Greeks as early as the Trojan war, and probably in ages long before; for in Homer, a choir of mourners were planted around the couch on which the body of Hector was laid out, who sung his funeral dirge with many sighs and tears:

— τῶν μὲν ἄνδρα  
*Τεῖνοις ἐν λυγροῖσι θύσαν, παρὰ θυμέναιδας, &c. Il. lib. xxiv, l. 720.*

“ A melancholy choir attend around,  
 With plaintive sighs and music's solemn sound;  
 Alternately they sing, alternate flow  
 The obedient tears, melodious in their woe.”

*Pope.*

In Egypt, the lower class of people call in women, who play on the tabor; and, whose business it is, like the hired mourners in other countries, to sing elegiac airs to the sound of that instrument, which they accompany with the most frightful distortions of their limbs. These women attend the corpse to the grave, intermixed with the female relations and friends of the deceased, who commonly have their hair in the utmost disorder; their heads covered with dust; their faces daubed with indigo, or at least rubbed with mud, and howling like maniacs. Such were the minstrels whom our Lord found in the house of Jairus, making so great a noise round the bed on which the dead body of his daughter lay. The noise and tu-

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xi, 17. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 195, 205. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 476-478.

malt of these retained mourners, and the other attendants, appear to have begun immediately after the person expired. "The moment," says Chardin, "any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the passions. Especially are these cries long and frightful in the case of death, for the mourning is right down despair, and an image of hell."

The longest and most violent acts of mourning are when they wash the body; when they perfume it; when they carry it out to be interred. During this violent outcry, the greater part even of the relations do not shed a single tear. While the funeral procession moves forward, with the violent wailings of the females, the male attendants engage in devout singing.<sup>b</sup>

It is evident that this sort of mourning and lamentation was a kind of art among the Jews: "Wailing shall be in the streets; and they shall call such as are skilful of lamentation to wail."<sup>c</sup> Mourners are hired at the obsequies of Hindoos and Mahommedans as in former times. To the dreadful noise and tumult of the hired mourners, the following passage of Jeremiah indisputably refers; and shews the custom to be derived from a very remote antiquity: "Call for the mourning women that they may come; and send for cunning women, that they may come, and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 305, *et seq.*

<sup>c</sup> Amos v, 16. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 251, 270.

<sup>d</sup> Jer. ix, 17. See also Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 62.

The relations of the deceased often testify their sorrow in a more serious and affecting manner, by cutting and slashing their naked arms with daggers. To this absurd and barbarous custom, the prophet thus alludes: "For every head shall be bald, and every beard clipped; upon all hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth:"<sup>e</sup> And again, "Both the great and the small shall die in the land; they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves."<sup>f</sup> It seems to have been very common in Egypt, and among the people of Israel, before the age of Moses, else he had not forbidden it by an express law: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."<sup>h</sup> Mr. Harmer refers to this custom, the "wounds in the hands" of the prophet, which he had given himself, in token of affection to a person.<sup>i</sup> And Calmet seems to think that "the marks of the Lord Jesus, which the apostle Paul bore on his body, might be the scars of those wounds which he had inflicted on his arms, as proofs of his love to his Redeemer." But it is not to be supposed that either of these inspired teachers would venture to display their affection to any person, by wilfully transgressing a divine law, couched in clear and precise terms; nor that such unwarrantable tokens of regard would be recorded with approbation in the sacred writings.

The funeral processions of the Jews in Barbary, are conducted nearly in the same manner as those in Syria. The corpse is borne by four to the place of burial: in the first rank march the priests, next to them the kindred of

<sup>f</sup> Jer. xlviii, 37.

<sup>e</sup> Jer. xvi, 6.

<sup>h</sup> Lev. xix, 38.

<sup>i</sup> Zech. xiii, 6.

the deceased ; after whom come those that are invited to the funeral ; and all singing in a sort of plain song, the forty-ninth Psalm. To the more sedate singing of the Jewish mourners, Mr. Harmer is inclined to refer these words of Amos : “ A man’s uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say to him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee ; and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord.”<sup>1</sup> “ In the forty-ninth Psalm, the devout worshipper expresses his hope, that God will raise up his people to life, after they have been long in the state of the dead ; but when, in a house so crowded with inhabitants, that there should be ten men in it, all should perish by the sword, the famine, and the pestilence ; so that not one should remain, was it not natural, that he who searched that desolate abode, should say when he carried out the last dead body for interment, Be silent ; it does not become us to make mention of God’s care of Israel, in hereafter raising us from the dead, when he is thus visibly forsaking his people ? Or in the words of our translation : Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord.” It is evidently the design of the prophet, to warn his people that public calamities were approaching, so numerous and severe, as should make them forget the usual rites of burial, and even to sing one of the songs of Zion over the dust of a departed relative. This appears to be confirmed by a prediction in the eighth chapter : “ And the songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord God ; there shall be many dead bodies in every place ; they shall

<sup>1</sup> Amos vi, 10. Harmer’s Observ. vol. iii, p. 8, 9.

cast them forth with silence ;" they shall have none to lament and bewail ; none to blow the funeral trump or touch the pipe and tabor ; none to sing the plaintive dirge, or express their hope of a blessed resurrection, in the strains of inspiration. All shall be silent despair.

The orientals bury without the walls of their cities, unless when they wish to bestow a distinguishing mark of honour upon the deceased.<sup>k</sup> For this reason, the sepulchres of David and his family, and the tomb of Huldah the prophetess, were within the city of Jerusalem ; and perhaps the only ones to be found there.<sup>l</sup> The sepulchres of the Hebrews, that were able to afford the necessary expense, were extensive caves or vaults, excavated in the native rock by the art and exertions of man. The roofs were generally arched ; and some were so spacious, as to be supported by colonnades. All round the sides were cells for the reception of the sarcophagi ; these were ornamented with appropriate sculpture, and each was placed in its proper cell. The cave or sepulchre admitted no light, being closed by a great stone which was rolled to the mouth, by the narrow passage or entrance.<sup>m</sup> Many of these receptacles are still extant in Judea ; two in particular are more magnificent than all the rest, and for that reason supposed to be the sepulchres of the kings. One of these is in Jerusalem, and contains twenty-four

<sup>k</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 218.—The Greeks and Romans uniformly buried without the precincts of their towns ; but we have accounts both of royal and of private tombs within the city of Jerusalem. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 31.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Kings ii, 10 ; and 2 Kings xvi, 20.

<sup>m</sup> Some of them were shut with stone doors, which were hung in the same manner as the doors of their houses, by a long circular spindle running up into the architrave above, and a short lower pivot in a socket in the threshold below. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 254-256.

cells; the other, containing twice that number, is without the city. "You are to form to yourself," says Lowth, speaking of these sepulchres, "an idea of an immense subterraneous vault, a vast gloomy cavern, all round the sides of which are cells to receive the dead bodies; here the deceased monarchs lie in a distinguished sort of state, suitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beside him, his sword at his head, and the bodies of his chiefs and companions round about him."<sup>a</sup>

"Whoever," says Maundrell, "was buried there, this is certain, that the place itself discovers so great an expense both of labour and of treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court, is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the rock. This has a kind of architrave running along its front adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but by time much defaced. At the end of the portico on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. Passing through it, you arrive in a large apartment about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could

<sup>a</sup> Lowth's Trans. vol. ii, p. 328, 329. Buckingham's Trav. vol. i, p. 319, 320-324. Again: "All round the sides of this mountain" (Zion), says the same writer, "and particularly on that facing towards the valley of Hinnom, are numerous excavations, which may have been habitations of the living, but are more generally taken for sepulchres of the dead." Vol. ii, p. 30.

build a room more regular ; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room you pass into six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first. Of these the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them. In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands ; but now most of them are broken to pieces by sacrilegious hands.<sup>o</sup> The sides and ceilings of the rooms were also dropping with the moist damps condensed upon them ; to remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fell constantly into it.”<sup>p</sup>

To these sepulchres, and their interior chambers, one within another, the wise man, by a bold and striking figure, compares the dwelling of a lewd woman : “ Her house is the way to *hades* ;” her first or outer chamber is like the open court that leads to the tomb, “ going down to the chambers of death ;” her private apartments, like the separate recesses of a sepulchre, are the receptacles of loathsome corruption ; and he calls them in allusion to the solidity of the rock in which they are hewn, the “ long home” (בית עולם) *beth olam*, the house of ages.

The higher such sepulchres were cut in the rock, or the more conspicuously they were situated, the greater

<sup>o</sup> The covers of the stone coffins at the ancient Gamala are ornamented in the same way. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 257.

<sup>p</sup> Maundrell's Journey, p. 116-118.



was supposed to be the honour of reposing there. "Hezekiah was buried in the chiefest," says our translation; rather, in the highest part "of the sepulchres of the sons of David," to do him the more honour. The vanity of Shebna, which so much displeased the Lord, was discovered in preparing for himself a sepulchre in the face of some lofty rock: "What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth a habitation for him in a rock."<sup>a</sup> Several modern travellers mention some monuments still remaining in Persia of great antiquity, which gave them a clear idea of Shebna's pompous design for his sepulchre.<sup>r</sup> They consist of several tombs, each of them hewn in a high rock near the top; the front of the rock to the valley below, being the outside of the sepulchre, is adorned with carved work in relief. Some of these sepulchres are about thirty feet in the perpendicular from the valley.<sup>s</sup> Diodorus Siculus mentions these ancient monuments, and calls them the sepulchres of the kings of Persia.<sup>t</sup> The tombs of Telmissus, in the island of Rhodes, which Dr. Clarke visited, furnish a still more remarkable commentary on this text. They "are of two kinds; the first are sepulchres hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks. Wherever the side of a mountain presented an almost inaccessible steep, there the ancient workmen seem to have bestowed their principal labour. In such situations are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art, as to exhibit open façades, porticoes with Ionic columns, gates and

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xxii, 16.

<sup>r</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 66.

<sup>s</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 219.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. i, cap. 4, p. 156; et lib. xvii, cap. 71.

doors beautifully sculptured, in which are carved the representation as of embossed iron work, bolts and hinges of one stone.”<sup>t</sup>

“The other kind of tomb is the true Grecian *soros*, the sarcophagus of the Romans. Of this sort there are several, but of a size and grandeur far exceeding any thing of the kind elsewhere, standing in some instances upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty precipitous rocks. Each consists of a single stone, others of still larger size, of more than one stone. Some consist of two masses of stone, one for the body or chest of the *soros*, and the other for its operculum; and to increase the wonder excited by the skill and labour manifested in their construction, they have been almost miraculously raised to the surrounding heights, and there left standing upon the projections and crags of the rocks, which the casualties of nature presented for their reception.”

“At Macri, the tombs are cut out of the solid rock, in the precipices towards the sea. Some of them have a kind of portico, with pillars in front.” In these they were almost plain. The hewn stone was as smooth as if the artist had been employed upon wood, or any other soft substance. They most nearly resemble book-cases, with glass doors. A small rectangular opening, scarcely large

<sup>t</sup> Trav. vol. ii, p. 215. See also Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. iii, p. 97.

“The sides of the mountains,” near Petra, the capital of the Nabatæi, “covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented altogether the most singular scene we had ever beheld: and we must despair to give the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form, while their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface.” Irby and Mungle's Trav. p. 414-423. Ecl. Rev. for Jan. 1824.

enough to pass through, admits a stranger to the interior of these tombs; where is found a square chamber, with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock. The mouths of these sepulchres had been originally closed by square slabs of stone, exactly adapted to grooves cut for their reception; and so nicely adjusted, that when the work was finished, the place of entrance might not be observed. Of similar construction were the sepulchres of the Jews in Palestine, and particularly that in which our Lord was buried.\*

“Many of these have the appearance of being inaccessible; but by dint of climbing from rock to rock, at the risk of a dangerous fall, it is possible to ascend even to the highest. They are fronted with rude pillars, which are integral parts of the solid rock. Some of them are twenty feet high. The mouths of these sepulchres are closed with beautiful sculptured imitations of brazen or iron doors, with hinges, knobs, and bars.”

This intelligent traveller visited a range of tombs of the same kind on the borders of the lake of Tiberias, hewn by the earliest inhabitants of Galilee, in the rocks which face the water. They were deserted in the time of our Saviour, and had become the resort of wretched men, afflicted by diseases, and made outcasts of society; for these tombs are particularly alluded to in the account of a cure performed upon a maniac in the country of the Gadarenes.†

The tombs at Naplose, the ancient Sichem, where Jo-

\* The tombs at Gamala are still used as dwellings by the poor. Buckingham's Trav. vol. ii, p. 290.—The subterranean apartments cut in the rocks which are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, Niebuhr thinks must have been chiefly used for the same purpose. Trav. vol. i, p. 234.

seph, Joshua, and others, were buried, are also hewn out of the solid rock, and are durable as the hills in which they are excavated. Constituting integral parts of mountains, and chiselled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description, these monuments suffer no change from the lapse of ages; they have defied, and will defy, the attacks of time, and continue as perfect at this hour, as they were in the first moment of their completion.\*

The tombs of the lower orders are constructed of stone, at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpose. Each family has a particular portion of it walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained for many generations; for, in these enclosures, the graves are all distinct and separate, having each of them a stone placed upright both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name of the person who lies there interred; while the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved all over with tiles. The graves of more wealthy citizens are further distinguished by some square chambers, or cupolas, that are built over them.† The sepulchres of the Jews were made so large, that persons might go into them. The rule for making them is this; he that sells ground to his neighbour, to make a burying-place, must make a court at the mouth of the cave, six feet by six, according to the bier and those that bury. It was into this court, that the women, who visited the sepulchre of our Lord, entered. Here they could look into the sepulchre, and the several graves in it, and see every thing within. The words of the sacred historian are :

\* Dr. Clarke's *Travels in Turkey, &c.* vol. ii, p. 242-256, and 463, 512, 513.

† Shaw's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 395.

“ And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man, sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted.”<sup>a</sup>

These different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of the enclosures, are constantly kept clean, white washed and beautified ; and by consequence, continue to this day to be an excellent comment upon that expression of our Saviour’s :<sup>a</sup> “ Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwards, but are within full of dead men’s bones and rottenness --- Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous.”<sup>b</sup> It was in one of these chambers, or cupolas, which were built over the sepulchre, that the demoniacs, mentioned in the eighth chapter of Matthew, probably had their dwelling.

As the Jews did not make use of coffins, they placed their dead separately in niches, or little cells, cut into the sides of the caves, or rooms, which they had hewed out of the rock. This form of the Jewish sepulchre suggests an easy solution of a difficulty in the resurrection of Lazarus. The sacred historian states, that when our Lord cried with a loud voice, “ Lazarus come forth, he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes.”<sup>c</sup> Upon this circumstance, the enemies of revelation seize with avidity, and demand with an air of triumph, How he should come out of a grave, who was bound hand and foot with grave-clothes ? But the answer is easy : the Evangelist does not mean that Lazarus walked out of the sepulchre, but only that he sat up, then putting his legs over the edge of his niche or cell, slid down and

<sup>a</sup> Mark xvi, 5. Shaw’s Trav. vol. ii, p. 13–15.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xxiii, 27, 29.

<sup>c</sup> Niebuhr’s Trav. vol. i, p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> John xi, 44.

stood upright upon the floor ; all which he might easily do, notwithstanding his arms were bound close to his body, and his legs were tied strait together, by means of the shroud and rollers with which he was swathed. Hence, when he was come forth, Jesus ordered his relations to loose him and let him go ; a circumstance plainly importing the historian's admission that Lazurus could not walk till he was unbound.

The Jewish tombs, like those of Macri, have entrances, which were originally closed with a large and broad stone rolled to the door, which it was not lawful, in the opinion of a Jew, to displace. They were adorned with inscriptions and emblematical devices, alluding to particular transactions in the lives of the persons that lay there entombed. Thus the place where the dust of Joshua reposed, was called Timnath-heres, because the image of the sun was engraved on his sepulchre, in memory of his arresting that luminary in his career, till he had gained a complete victory over the confederate kings. Such significant devices were common in the east. Cicero says, the tomb of Archimedes, was distinguished by the figure of a sphere and a cylinder.<sup>d</sup>

The funeral ceremony of the Jews was finished by rolling the appointed stone to the door of the sepulchre ; after which the mourning and lamentations were renewed.

<sup>d</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 224.—In the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor Mr. Buckingham found many graves of a different form from any of those now described. These " were cut down into the rock, exactly in the way in which our modern graves are dug in the earth." They were " covered with rude blocks of stone, sufficiently large to overlap the edge of the grave on all sides, and of a height or thickness equal to the depth of the grave itself, varying from two to four feet." Trav. vol. ii, p. 311. He mentions similar graves in other parts of his travels, and he considers them as the work of a very early age.

The ancient Israelites, in imitation of the heathen, from whom they borrowed the practice, frequently cut themselves with knives and lancets, scratched their faces, or pricked certain parts of their bodies with needles. These superstitious practices were expressly forbidden in their law: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead."<sup>f</sup>

The bereaved Greeks tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair;<sup>g</sup> they reckoned it a duty which they owed to the dead, to deprive their heads of the greatest part of their honours, or, in the language of Scripture, made a baldness between their eyes; for in Euripides, Electra finds fault with Helen for sparing her locks, and so defrauding her departed friends of their due respect.<sup>h</sup> Lewis and Clarke discovered some traces of this very ancient custom among the savage tribes on the banks of the Missouri, who cut short their hair in the neck for the dead, and in deep mourning, over all the head.<sup>i</sup> Achilles, not more civilized than they, protested under the walls of Troy, that he would not bathe himself in water till he had placed his friend Patroclus upon the funeral pile, raised over his ashes a mound of earth, and cut off his own hair in honour of the deceased.<sup>j</sup> When the pile was prepared, they laid the body of Patroclus upon it, and

<sup>f</sup> See also Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 177.—When the Persians celebrate the death of Hossein, the most violent of them walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered, and their bodies streaming with blood by the voluntary cuts which they have given themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification.

<sup>g</sup> Iliad. lib. xviii, l. 25; et lib. xxiii, l. 46. Odyssey, lib. iv, l. 198.

<sup>h</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 197. See also Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 486, 487.

<sup>i</sup> Travels in Louisiana, vol. i, p. 121.

<sup>j</sup> Iliad. lib. xxiii, l. 45, 151.

cutting off their locks, covered it from head to foot with their hair.<sup>k</sup>

Sometimes the hair was cast into the funeral pile, to be consumed with the dead body, and sometimes it was laid upon the grave; for Canace, in Ovid, bewails her misfortune, because she was debarred from performing this ceremony to her beloved Macareus:

“ Non mihi te licuit lacrimis perfundere justis,  
In tua non tonsus ferre sepulchra comas.”<sup>l</sup>

Hence, to cut off the hair for the dead, was either a part of heathen superstition, or intimately connected with the undue honours which they paid to their departed friends. This idea is confirmed by the Scholiast upon Sophocles, who says, it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious, which seems to be the reason they threw the hair into the fire to burn with him, or laid it on his body; partly that they might appear disfigured and careless of their beauty; for long hair was looked upon as very becoming, and the Greeks prided themselves in it, on account of which they are so frequently honoured by Homer with the epithet of (*καρχαρονίτης*) well haired.<sup>m</sup>

The same custom prevailed among the ancient Persians and the neighbouring states.<sup>n</sup> On the death of Cæsar Germanicus, some barbarous nations, at war among themselves, and with the Romans, agreed to a cessation of hostilities, as if their grief had been of a domestic nature, and on an occasion which alike concerned them both. Some princes, it was reported, cut off their beards, and shaved the heads of their wives, as an expression of their profound grief.<sup>o</sup> The Jews, and other nations of Syria,

<sup>k</sup> Il. lib. xxiii, l. 135.

<sup>n</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 198, 199.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. l. 140.

<sup>o</sup> Sueton, lib. iv, sec. 5.

<sup>m</sup> See Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 192.



expressed their sorrow for the loss of their friends in the same manner. When the patriarch Job was informed of the death of his children, and the destruction of his property, he arose and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped; and in the prophecies of Jeremiah, we read of eighty men who were going to lament the desolations of Jerusalem, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves (in direct violation of the divine law), with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord.<sup>o</sup> Shaving, however, was, on some occasions, a sign of joy; and to let the hair grow long, the practice of mourners, or persons in affliction. Joseph shaved himself before he went into the palace;<sup>p</sup> and Mephibosheth let his hair grow during the time David was banished from Jerusalem, but shaved himself on his return. This practice was not unknown among the surrounding nations; for mariners were accustomed to shave themselves upon their deliverance from shipwreck; to which Juvenal makes this allusion:

——— “gaudent ibi vertice raso

Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.”<sup>q</sup>

“And then shorn sailors boast what they endured.”

Hence Pliny, in one of his epistles, interprets his dream of cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some imminent danger. This difference is to be accounted for by the fashions of several nations: for where it was usual to wear long hair, there mourners shaved themselves; but where short hair was in fashion, there the length of hair was a token of mourning.

In ordinary sorrows they only neglected their hair, or suffered it to hang down loose upon their shoulders; in

<sup>o</sup> Jer. xli, 5.

<sup>p</sup> Gen. xli, 14.

<sup>q</sup> Sat. xii, v. 82.

more poignant grief they cut it off; but in a sudden and violent paroxysm, they plucked it off with their hands. Such a violent expression of sorrow is exemplified in the conduct of Ezra, which he thus describes: "And when I heard this thing I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head, and of my beard, and sat down astonished."<sup>a</sup> The Greeks, and other nations around them, expressed the violence of their sorrow in the same way; for in Homer, Ulysses and his companions bewailing the death of Elpinor, howled and plucked off their hair:

Εζομεναι δι' ελπυδιαν γωνυ τιλλοντες τε χαίρας.

They withdrew as much as possible from the world; they abstained from banquets and entertainments; they banished from their houses as unsuitable to their circumstances, and even painful to their feelings, musical instruments of every kind, and whatever was calculated to excite pleasure, or that wore an air of mirth and gaiety; they frequented no public solemnities, and often denied themselves the comforts and conveniences of life; they loathed the light of heaven, and sought only the dark shade and lonely retirement, which were supposed to bear some resemblance to their misfortunes. Thus Admetus in Euripides, overwhelmed with affliction for the death of Alcestis:

Παυσαι δι' κωμας, συμπόσιον δ' ὀμίλειαι

Στεφάνους τι, μυσαν δ' ἢ κατ' ὕλην πρην δαμου.<sup>b</sup>

"I will no more indulge in public entertainments, in the conversation of my friends, in chaplets and music, which formerly cheered my dwelling." Thus did the king of Persia testify his sorrow for the decree, into which his

<sup>a</sup> Jer. ix, 3.

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 195.

wily courtiers had betrayed him, and which, without the miraculous interposition of heaven, had proved fatal to his favourite minister: "Then the king went to his palace, and spent the night fasting; neither were instruments of music brought before him."<sup>a</sup>

Oriental mourners divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and every thing rich and splendid in their dress. The Grecian ladies were directed in this manner to mourn the death of Achilles:

*Μητε χρυσῶν φαιδρα καλλιστὰν ῥέει, &c.*

"Not clothed in rich attire of gems and gold, with glittering silks or purple."<sup>b</sup> This proof of humiliation and submission Jehovah required of his offending people in the wilderness: "Therefore, now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb."<sup>c</sup> Long after the time of Moses, that rebellious nation again received a command of similar import: "Strip you, and make you bare, and gird sackcloth upon your loins."<sup>d</sup>

The garments of the mourner were always black; Progne, having notice of Philomela's death, lays aside her robes, beaming with a profusion of gold, and appears in sable vestments; and Althæa, when her brethren were slain by Meleager, exchanged her glittering robes for black:

—— "et auratas mutavit vestibus atris."

*Ovid.*

These sable vestments differed from their ordinary dress,

<sup>a</sup> Dan. vi, 18.

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 195. See also Diodorus Sic. lib. i, cap. 72, vol. i, p. 83.

<sup>c</sup> Exod. xxxiii, 5, 6.

<sup>d</sup> Isa. xxxii, 11. See Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 178.

not only in colour, but also in value, being made of cheap and coarse stuff, as appears from these lines of Terence :

“ *Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus  
Mediocris vestitam veste lugubri  
Ejus anus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.*”

“ We found her busy at the loom, in a cheap mourning habit, which she wore I suppose for the old woman’s death.”

In Judea, the mourner was clothed in sackcloth of hair ; and by consequence, in sable robes. If dead bodies in the east were shrouded in cloth of this kind, surviving relatives probably wore it in assimilation to the departed ; and penitents, by assuming it, seemed to confess, that their guilt exposed them to death. Some of the eastern nations in modern times, bury in linen ; but Chardin informs us, that others still retain the use of sackcloth for that purpose.

These signs of mourning were, in times of public calamity or danger, extended to domestic animals, and sometimes to inanimate objects, that every thing might correspond as much as possible with the general feeling. The horses of Achilles mourned the death of his friend Patroclus with dishevelled manes.\* Admetus, upon the death of Alcestis, commanded his chariot horses to be shorn :

*Τὸ δὲ πάντα τι ζυγιοῦνθι, καὶ μεταμπακας*

*Πῶλος εὐδὲν τέμνεις\* αὐχίνων φοβήη. Eurip. Alcest. 428.*

“ My chariot horses too my grief shall share,  
Let them be shorn, cut off their comely manes.”

The people of Thessaly cut off their own hair, and their horses’ manes, at the death of Pelopidas. When Masiestius was slain in a skirmish with the Athenians, the Per-

\* *Pottier’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 196.*

\* *Iliad. lib. xxiii, l. 283.*

sians shaved themselves, their horses, and their mules. On the prediction of Jonah being reported to the king of Nineveh, "he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing; let them not feed nor drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God."<sup>a</sup>

To sit in sackcloth and ashes, was a frequent expression of mourning in the oriental regions; and persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to sustain the weight of their calamities, often threw themselves upon the earth, and rolled in the dust; and the more dirty the ground was, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection. Thus Æneus mourned the death of his son Meleager :

" Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles  
Foedat humi fuso, spatiosumque increpat ævum."

*Ovid. Met. lib. viii, l. 528.*

" His hoary head and furrowed cheeks bestears  
With noisome dirt, and chides the tedious years."

When Achilles received the news of his friend Patroclus' death, he cast himself on the ground, and with furious hands spread the ashes upon his head, tore his garments, and rolled himself in the dust, lamenting his departed friend with loud screams.<sup>b</sup> And aged Priam lamented the fall of Hector in the same manner :

Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω, καὶ κηδὲς μοῖρᾴ πρῶτον,  
Αὐλῆς ἐν χορτοῖσι κυλινδόμενος πατὴρ Πηλεΐδου. *Il. lib. xxiv, l. 640.*

<sup>a</sup> Jonah iii, 6, 7, 8.

<sup>b</sup> *Iliad. lib. xviii, l. 23; et lib. xix, l. 5.*

"Sleep has never closed these eyes, from the time my son lost his life under thy hands; but without ceasing, I groan and ruminate on my innumerable sorrows, weltering in the mire."

In this way, Tamar signified her distress, after being dishonoured by Amnon; "She put ashes on her head;" and when Mordecai understood that the doom of his nation was sealed, he "rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes." Our Lord alludes to the same custom, in that denunciation; "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes."<sup>c</sup>

Intimately connected with this, is the custom of putting dust upon the head. When the armies of Israel were defeated before Ai, "Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads." And Hushai came to meet his sovereign, when he fled before Absalom, with his coat rent, and dust upon his head.<sup>d</sup> The mourner sometimes laid his hands upon his head; for the prophet, expostulating with his people, predicts their humiliation in these words: "Yea; thou shalt go forth from him, and thine hands upon thine head; for the Lord hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them."<sup>e</sup> In both these cases, the head of the mourner was uncovered; but they sometimes adopted the opposite custom, and covered their heads in great distress, or when they were loaded with disgrace and infamy. When Darius was informed

<sup>c</sup> Matth. xi, 21.

<sup>d</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 59.—The same custom prevailed in Greece from the earliest times. *Odyss. lib. xxiv, l. 315.*

<sup>e</sup> Jer. ii, 37.

that his queen was dead, and that she had suffered no violence from Alexander, he covered his head and wept a long while; and then throwing off the garment that covered him, gave God thanks for Alexander's moderation and justice. This custom was of great antiquity in Persia; for when Haman's plot against Mordecai was defeated, he is said to have "hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered."<sup>f</sup> The Jews are represented by Jeremiah as being "ashamed and confounded, and covering their heads" in the time of a grievous famine:<sup>g</sup> and when David received the tidings of Absalom's death, "he covered his face, and cried with a loud voice." That this was a common expression of extreme distress, appears from a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel, where the sorrows of captive Israel are foretold, under the type of removing: "Thou shalt cover thy face that thou see not the ground; for I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel." It seems indeed to be a natural expression of grief or shame, and to have been accordingly practised among all nations. Thus Demosthenes, being on a particular occasion hissed by the people, went home with his head covered. Ulysses wrapped his face in his large purple robe and wept bitterly, when the musician celebrated in song the valourous deeds of the Greeks before Troy.<sup>h</sup> The heathen nations adored their deities with covered heads, except Saturn and Hercules, whose solemnities were celebrated with heads unveiled; and the Jews, in worshipping the true God, covered their heads, from a spirit of bondage and fear. These are probably the reasons that the apostle thus expresses himself to the Corinthians: "Every man

<sup>f</sup> Esth. vi, 7.

<sup>g</sup> Jer. xiv, 3, 4.

<sup>h</sup> Odyssey, lib. viii, l. 83, 92.

praying, or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head."<sup>1</sup>

To cover the lips was a very ancient sign of mourning; and it continues to be practised among the Jews of Barbary to this day. When they return from the grave to the house of the deceased, the chief mourner receives them with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, in imitation of the manner in which the face of the dead is covered; and by this the mourner is said to testify that he was ready to die for his friend. Muffled in this way, the mourner goes for seven days, during which the rest of his friends come twice every twenty-four hours to pray with him. This allusion is perhaps involved in the charge which Ezekiel received when his wife died, to abstain from the customary forms of mourning: "Forbear to cry; make no mourning for the dead; bind the tire of thy head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and *cover not thy lips*, and eat not the bread of men."<sup>2</sup> The law of Moses required a leper to have his clothes rent, his head bare, and a covering upon his upper lip, because he was considered as a dead man, "of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb."

Sitting on the ground was a posture which denoted severe distress. Thus the prophet represents the elders of Israel, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity of those whom the sword had spared: "The elders of the daughter of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence; they have cast up dust upon their heads; they have girded themselves with sackcloth; the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground."<sup>3</sup> Ju-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xi, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. iii, p. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxiv, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Lam. ii, 10.



dea is represented by a woman on several coins of Vespasian and Titus, in this very posture of sorrow and captivity sitting on the ground. The Jews lamented their dispersion, by the rivers of Babylon, in the same mournful posture: "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion."<sup>m</sup> But what is more remarkable, we find Judea under the figure of a sorrowful woman sitting on the ground, in a passage of the prophet, where the same calamity, recorded on the medals of these Roman emperors, is foretold; "And she being desolate, shall sit upon the ground."<sup>n</sup>

Oriental mourners often proceeded to great excesses, beating their breasts and thighs, tearing their flesh, and making furrows in their faces with their nails.<sup>o</sup> These signs of grief, although sometimes exhibited by men, were more frequent among females, whose passions are more violent and unmanageable. In this manner Anna bewails her sister Dido's death:

"Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,

Unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora palmis." *Æn.* lib. iv, l. 673.

To smite upon the breast was a very common sign of penitential sorrow. Thus in the *Odyssey*, "Smiting upon his breast, he began to chide his heart;" and in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, the latter "would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful unto me a sinner." Significant of the same kind of sorrow was the custom, not less ancient, of smiting upon the thigh. This is mentioned as a circumstance which attended the repentance of Ephraim: "Surely after that I was turned, I

<sup>m</sup> *Psa.* cxxxvii, l.

<sup>n</sup> *Isa.* iii, 26.

<sup>o</sup> *Potter's Gr. Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 203.

repented; and after that I was instructed I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth.”<sup>p</sup> But it was not in every instance an expression of penitential sorrow; for we learn from Xenophon, that Cyrus smote upon his thigh when he received the news of the death of his generous friend Abradatus.<sup>q</sup>

Another very singular method of expressing sorrow, was by burning brimstone in the house of the deceased. Livy mentions this practice as general among the Romans;<sup>r</sup> and some commentators think it is referred to in these words of Bildad: “Brimstone shall be scattered upon his habitation.”<sup>s</sup> The idea corresponds with the design of the speaker, which is to describe the miserable end of the hypocrite.

Chardin informs us that when the king of Persia dies, his physicians and astrologers lose their places and are excluded from the court; the first, because they could not cure their sovereign, and the last, because they did not give previous notice of his death. This whimsical custom he supposes has descended to modern times from a very remote antiquity; and to have been the true reason that Daniel was absent when Belshazzar saw the hand writing his doom on the wall. If the conjecture of that intelligent traveller be well founded, the venerable prophet had been forced by the established etiquette of the court to retire from the management of public affairs at the death of Nebuchadnezzar; and had remained in a private station for twenty-three years, neglected or forgotten, till the awful

<sup>p</sup> Jer. xxxi, 19.

<sup>q</sup> Cyrop. lib. vi, p. 408. Hesiod. Scutum Herc. l. 243.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. xxx, c. 15. <sup>s</sup> Job xviii, 15. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 230.

occurrence of that memorable night rendered his assistance necessary, and brought him again into public notice. This accounts in a very satisfactory manner, as well for the ignorance of that dissolute and thoughtless monarch, as for the recollection of Nitocris the queen-mother, who had long known his character and abilities during the reign of her husband. The thought is at least ingenious, and furnishes the best solution of a difficulty which otherwise it is not easy to remove.<sup>t</sup>

The funeral obsequies of an oriental were concluded by a feast, according with the rank and wealth of surviving relations. Chardin was present at many of those funeral banquets among the Armenian Christians in Persia. To this custom the prophet Jeremiah refers in these words: "Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them, for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink, for their sister or for their mother. Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and to drink."<sup>u</sup> In the seventh verse the prophet speaks of the provisions which relations and acquaintances usually sent to the house of their departed friend; and of those healths which were drunk to the survivors of the family. In Barbary, when a person dies, the neighbours, relations, and friends send bread to the house of mourning, which the prophet Ezekiel calls "the bread of men."<sup>v</sup> It was supposed the family were so depressed by the loss of their relation, as to be unable to think of their necessary food. Those who sent the provisions made a visit to their sorrowful and bereaved friends after the funeral, to com-

<sup>t</sup> Daniel v, 11-16. Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 89.

<sup>u</sup> Jer. xvi, 7, 8.

<sup>v</sup> Chap. xxiv, 17.

fort them and assist at the entertainment, which was given in honour of the dead. In allusion to this custom, the prophet Jeremiah received this charge : " Thus saith the Lord, enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament, nor bemoan them ; for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the Lord." When all the people, therefore, came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day, after the funeral of Abner, it was in strict compliance with the general custom of the country. The same observation applies to the circumstance mentioned in the gospel of John, that " many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary to comfort them."<sup>v</sup>

Chardin informs us, that " it is usual in the east to leave a relation of a person deceased to weep and mourn, till on the third or fourth day at farthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he having before thrown himself upon the ground." The surprise of David's servants who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, was excited by his doing that himself, which it was customary for the friends of mourners to do for them.\*

The oriental mourner was distinguished by the slovenliness of his dress. He suffered the hair of his head, if not cut or plucked off in the excess of his grief, to hang dishevelled upon the shoulders ; he neither trimmed his beard, nor washed his feet, even in the hottest weather ; he did not wash his shirt, nor any of the linen he wore. During the whole time of mourning, he refused to change his clothes. In this state of total negligence, it appears that David mourned for his infant son ; for after he learned from his attendants that the child was dead, the in-

<sup>v</sup> John xi, 19.

<sup>\*</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 495.

spired historian observes, "Then David arose from the earth, and washed and anointed himself, and changed his apparel."

The time of mourning for the dead was longer or shorter, according to the dignity of the person. Among the modern Jews, the usual time is seven days, during which they shut themselves up in their houses; or if some extraordinary occasion forces them to appear in public, it is without shoes, as a token they have lost a dear friend. This explains the reason that when Ezekiel was commanded to abstain from the rites of mourning, he was directed to put his shoes on his feet.<sup>7</sup>

It was a custom among the Jews, to visit the sepulchres of their deceased friends three days; for so long they supposed their spirits hovered about them; but when once they perceived their visage begin to change, as it would in that time in those warm countries, all hopes of a return to life were then at an end. After a revolution of humours, which, according to some authors, is completed in three days, the body tends naturally to putrefaction; and by consequence, Martha had reason to say, that her brother's body, which appears by the context to have been laid in the sepulchre on the same day he died, was now on the fourth day become offensive. But it appears from an incident in the same narrative, that in Judea they were accustomed to visit the grave of their deceased relations after the third day, merely to lament their loss, and give vent to their grief. If this had not been a common practice, the people that came to comfort the sisters of Lazarus, would not so readily have concluded, when Mary went hastily out to meet her Saviour, "She goeth to the

<sup>7</sup> Patter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 240.

grave to weep there." The Turkish women continue to follow this custom ; they go before sun-rising on Friday, the stated day of their worship, to the grave of the deceased, where with many tears and lamentations, they sprinkle their monuments with water and flowers. The Persians also visit the sepulchres of their principal imams or prelates ; and the Mahommedans in Hindostan follow the same practice, which they probably learned from their neighbours the Persians, going to the grave, and lamenting their departed friends ten days after their decease.\* The Syrian women also proceed in companies on certain days to the tombs of their relations, which are built at a little distance from their towns, to weep there ; and on these occasions they commonly indulge in the deepest expressions of grief.\* When Le Bruin was at Rama, he saw a very great company of these mourning women going out of the town to weep at the tombs. He followed them, and seated himself on an elevated spot, adjacent to their sepulchres, near the place where they made their usual lamentations. They first went and placed themselves on the tombs, and wept there ; after remaining about half an hour, some of them rose up and formed a ring, holding each other by the hands. Quickly two of them quitted the others, and took their station in the centre of the ring, where they made so much noise in screaming and clapping their hands, as, together with their various contortions, might, in the opinion of the traveller, have subjected them to the suspicion of insanity. After that they returned, and seated themselves to weep again, till they gradually withdrew to their homes. The dresses they wore were

\* Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 269, 270.

\* Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i, p. 311, 312.

such as they generally used, white, or any other colour ; but when they rose up to form a circle together, they put on a black veil over the upper parts of their persons. Such, it may be concluded, was the weeping at Rama, described in the prophecies of Jeremiah : “ A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation and bitter weeping ; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.”<sup>b</sup>

In other parts of Palestine and Syria, the friends and relations of the deceased went occasionally to the chambers or cupolas, which were built over the graves, to meditate on their loss, and indulge their grief in those remote and solemn retirements. This seems to have been a very general custom, and to have found its way into countries very distant from the land of promise. Humboldt records a curious and interesting fact of his discovering in the empire of Mexico, one or two of these sepulchral monuments, with a chamber over the grave, in the fashion of the east ;<sup>c</sup> a circumstance which countenances the idea, that the Mexicans came originally from Asia, where that mode of constructing sepulchres prevailed. The ancient Hebrews had an idolatrous custom of going among the tombs, to receive dreams, by which they endeavoured to form a judgment of events, and how to manage their affairs ; for the prophet Isaiah charges them with remaining among the graves, and lodging in the monuments ; which is rendered by the Seventy, sleeping in the tombs upon the account of dreams : and it is reasonable to believe, that the sepulchre of Moses was designedly concealed, lest in future times it should become the scene of superstitious veneration, or gross idolatry.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. xxxi, 15. Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 31.

<sup>c</sup> Political Essay, &c. vol. ii, p. 192, 193. See also his Historical Account.

Oil is now presented in the east, to be burnt in honour of the dead, whom they reverence with a religious kind of homage. Mr. Harmer thinks it most natural to suppose, that the prophet Hosea refers to a similar practice, when he upbraids the Israelites with carrying oil into Egypt. They did not carry it thither in the way of lawful commerce; for they carried it to Tyre without reproof, to barter it for other goods. It was not sent as a present to the king of Egypt; for the Jewish people endeavoured to gain the friendship of foreign potentates with gold and silver. It was not exacted as a tribute; for when the king of Egypt dethroned Jehoahaz the king of Judah, and imposed a fine upon the people, he did not appoint them to pay so much oil, but so much silver and gold. But if they burnt oil in those early times in honour of their idols, and their departed friends, and the Jews sent it into Egypt with that intention, it is no wonder the prophet so severely reproaches them for their conduct. Oil is in modern times very often presented to the objects of religious veneration in Barbary and Egypt. The Algerines, according to Pitts, when they are in the mouth of the straits, throw a bundle of wax candles, together with a pot of oil, overboard, as a present to the marabout or saint who lies entombed there, on the Barbary shore, near the sea.<sup>d</sup>

The custom of putting tears into the *ampulla* or *urna lacrymales*, so well known among the Romans, seems to have been more anciently in use in Asia, and particularly among the Hebrews. These lacrymal urns were of different materials, some of glass, some of earth, and of various forms and shapes. One went about to each person

<sup>d</sup> Trav. p. 17, 18.



in the company at the height of his grief with a piece of cotton in his hand, with which he carefully collects the falling tears, and which he then squeezes into the bottle, preserving them with the greatest care.\* This was no difficult matter ; for Homer says the tears of Telemachus, when he heard of his father, dropped on the ground.† They were placed on the sepulchres of the deceased as a memorial of the affection and sorrow of their surviving relations and friends. It will be difficult to account, on any other supposition, for the following expressions of the Psalmist : “ Put thou my tears into thy bottle.”‡ If this view be admitted, the meaning will be : “ Let my distress, and the tears I shed in consequence of it, be ever before thee.”

The kings and princes of the oriental regions, are often subjected to trial after their decease by their insulted and oppressed people, and punished according to the degree of their delinquency. While the chosen people of God were accustomed to honour, in a particular manner, the memory of those kings who had reigned over them with justice and clemency, they took care to stamp some mark of posthumous disgrace upon those who had left the world under their disapprobation. The sepulchres of the Jewish kings were at Jerusalem ; where, in some appointed receptacle, the remains of their princes were deposited ; and from the circumstance of these being the cemetery for successive rulers, it was said when one died and was buried there, that he was gathered to his fathers. But several instances occur in the history of the house of David, in which, on various accounts, they were denied the

\* Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 177, *et seq.*

† Odyssey, lib. iv, l. 113, 114.

‡ Ps. lvi, 8.

honour of being entombed with their ancestors, and were deposited in some other place in Jerusalem. To mark, perhaps, a greater degree of censure, they were taken to a small distance from Jerusalem, and laid in a private tomb. Uzziah, who had, by his presumptuous attempt to seize the office of the priesthood, which was reserved by an express law for the house of Aaron, provoked the wrath of heaven, and been punished for his temerity with a loathsome and incurable disease, “ was buried with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings ; for they said, He is a leper.”<sup>b</sup> It was undoubtedly with a design to make a suitable impression on the mind of the reigning monarch, to guard him against the abuse of his power, and teach him respect for the feelings and sentiments of that people for whose benefit chiefly he was raised to the throne, that such a stigma was fixed upon the dust of his offending predecessors. He was, in this manner, restrained from evil, and excited to good, according as he was fearful of being execrated, or desirous of being honoured after his decease. This public mark of infamy was accordingly put on the conduct of Ahaz : “ They buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem, but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel.”<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptians had a custom, in some measure similar to this, only it extended to persons of every rank and condition. As soon as a man died, he was ordered to be brought to trial ; the public accuser was heard ; if he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of the honours of sepulture. Thus were the Egyptians affected by laws

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi, 23.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxviii, 27.

which extended even beyond the grave, and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But what was singular, the sovereign himself was not exempted from this public inquest when he died. The whole kingdom was interested in the lives and administration of their sovereigns, and as death terminated all their actions, it was then deemed for the welfare of the community that they should suffer an impartial scrutiny, by a public trial, as well as the meanest of their subjects. In consequence of this solemn investigation, some of them were not ranked among the honoured dead, and consequently were deprived of public burial. The custom was singular; the effect must have been powerful and influential. The most haughty despot, who might trample on laws human and divine in his life, saw by this rigorous inquiry, that at death he also should be doomed to infamy and execration. "What degree of conformity," says Mr. Burder, "there was between the practice of the Israelites and the Egyptians, and with whom the custom first originated, may be difficult to ascertain and decide; but the latter appears to be founded on the same principle as that of the former; and as it is more circumstantially detailed, affords us an agreeable explanation of a rite but slightly mentioned in the Scriptures."

<sup>1</sup> Franklin's Hist of Ancient and Modern Egypt, vol. i, p. 374. See also Diodorus Sic. lib. i, cap. 72, vol. i, p. 84.

## CHAP. X.

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN PALESTINE AND THE EAST.

*Right of calling an offender to account.—Dust thrown upon the criminal.—The names of the accused posted up in some public place.—The proscribed. Form of proceeding in Jewish courts.—The accused among the Romans neglected their dress.—Appeared before the judges clothed in black.—Ancient way of giving sentence.—When sentence of condemnation was pronounced, the witnesses put their hands on the head of the criminal.—Executions in the east prompt and arbitrary.—Executions in secret.—Executions without the gate.—Persons of the highest rank anciently employed as executioners.—Trial by ordeal.—Punishment of stoning.—Of burning.—By the sword.—Great criminals hanged upon a tree after they had suffered death.—Stupifying draughts given to criminals.—Punishment of drowning.—Cutting asunder.—Casting them from the top of a rock.—Pounding in a mortar.—The head, the hands, and the feet cut off, and fixed up in the most public places.—Crucifixion.—Condemned persons thrown into deep pits.—Among the Romans, criminals sometimes burnt alive.—Hewed in pieces, and given as a prey to wild beasts.—Exposed to perish of thirst.—Slighter offences punished by fines.—Public and private bonds.—Prisons in Jerusalem.—Keepers treated their prisoners as they pleased.—State prisoners treated with still greater severity.—Reduced to slavery.—Scourging among the Jews.—The lex talionis.—Offenders sometimes exposed to infamy.—Sealing up their eyes.—Rendered unfit for business by being compelled to swallow stupifying drugs.—The Romans exposed their criminals to the rage of wild beasts in the theatres.—Sometimes cast them naked to the savage animals, exasperated by long fasting, to be devoured.—At other times sent them armed into the theatre to fight with wild beasts.—Punishment of the tympanum or drum.*

**I**N the east, the right of calling an offender to account is claimed either by the person who receives the injury, or his nearest relation; and the same person, with the per-

mission or connivance of his people, sustains at once the character of party, judge, and executioner.<sup>a</sup> In such a state of things, we are not to be surprised if the exercise of justice be often precipitate and tumultuary. The act of the Philistines, in burning the spouse of Samson and her father with fire, was entirely of this character; not the result of a regular sentence, but the summary vengeance of an incensed multitude.<sup>b</sup> In the law of Moses, the right of the private avenger was distinctly recognized; but to prevent the dreadful effects of sudden and personal vengeance, cities of refuge were appointed at convenient distances through the land of promise, to which the man-slayer might flee for safety, till he could be brought to a regular trial, before a court of justice.

In almost every part of Asia, those who demand justice against a criminal throw dust upon him, signifying that he deserves to lose his life, and be cast into the grave; and that this is the true interpretation of the action, is evident from an imprecation in common use among the Turks and Persians, *Be covered with earth; Earth be upon thy head.* We have two remarkable instances of casting dust recorded in Scripture; the first is that of Shimei, who gave vent to his secret hostility to David, when he fled before his rebellious son, by throwing stones at him, and casting dust.<sup>c</sup> It was an ancient custom, in those warm and arid countries, to lay the dust before a person of distinction, and particularly before kings and princes, by sprinkling the ground with water.<sup>d</sup> To throw dust into the air while a person was passing, was therefore an act of great disrespect; to do so before a sove-

<sup>a</sup> Malcom's *Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 452. Volney's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 307.

<sup>b</sup> *Judg.* xv, 6.      <sup>c</sup> *2 Sam.* xvi, 13.      <sup>d</sup> Pococke's *Trav.* vol. i, p. 17.

reign prince, an indecent outrage. But it is clear from the explanation of the custom, that Shimei meant more than disrespect and outrage to an afflicted king, whose subject he was ; he intended to signify by that action, that David was unfit to live, and that the time was at last arrived to offer him a sacrifice to the ambition and vengeance of the house of Saul. This view of his conduct is confirmed by the behaviour of the Jews to the apostle Paul, when they seized him in the temple, and had nearly succeeded in putting him to death ; they cried out “ away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live ; and as they cried out and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle.”<sup>e</sup> A great similarity appears between the conduct of the Jews on this occasion, and the behaviour of the peasants in Persia, when they go to court to complain of the governors, whose oppressions they can no longer endure. “ They carry their complaints against their governors by companies, consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes of a thousand ; they repair to that gate of the palace nearest to which their prince is most likely to be, where they set themselves to make the most horrid cries, tearing their garments, and throwing dust into the air, at the same time demanding justice. The king, upon hearing these cries, sends to know the occasion of them : the people deliver their complaints in writing, upon which he lets them know that he will commit the cognizance of the affair to such an one as he names ; in consequence of this, justice is usually obtained.”<sup>f</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Acts xxii, 23.

<sup>f</sup> Chardin's Trav. vol. ii, p. 222. Burder's Orient. Cust. vol. i, ob. 503. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 417 ; and vol. iii, p. 367, 368.

Those who were summoned before the courts of justice were said to be *προσγεγραμμενοι ως κρείων*, because they were cited to appear, by posting up their names in some public place; and the judgment of the court was published or declared in writing. Such persons, the Romans called *proscriptos* or *proscribed*, that is, whose names were posted up in writing, in some public place, as persons doomed to die, with a reward offered to any that should kill them. These are the terms which the apostle Jude applies to the ungodly, who had crept unawares into the church; they were before of old, *προσγεγραμμενοι*, ordained to this condemnation; persons, who must not only give an account of their crimes to God, but are proscribed or destined to the punishment which they deserve. In Persia, malefactors were not allowed to look on the king; this was the reason, that as soon as Haman was considered a criminal they covered his face. From Poocke, we find the custom still continues, for speaking of the artifice by which an Egyptian bey was taken off, he says, "A man being brought before him like a malefactor just taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and a napkin put over his head, as malefactors commonly have, when he came into his presence suddenly shot him dead."<sup>s</sup>

The Persians smote the criminals who attempted to speak in their own defence with a shoe, the heel of which was shod with iron; which is quite characteristic of the eastern manners as described in the sacred volume. The shoe was also considered as vile, and never allowed to enter sacred or respected places; and to be smitten with it is to be subjected to the last ignominy. Paul was smitten on the mouth by the orders of Ananias; and the warmth

<sup>s</sup> Trav. vol. i, p. 178. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 68.

with which the apostle resented the injury, shews his deep sense of the dishonour : " Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall; for sittest thou to judge me after the law; and commandest me to be smitten contrary to law."<sup>4</sup>

It was the custom among the Jews for the judge to sit on a trial, and those who were judged to stand, especially while the court were examining the witnesses. The station of the accused was in an eminent place in the court, that the people might see them, and hear what was alleged against them, and the proofs of it, together with the defence made by the criminals. This explains the reason of the remark, by the evangelist Matthew, concerning the posture of our Lord at his trial; " Jesus stood before the governor;" and that, in a mock trial, many ages before the birth of Christ, in which some attention was also paid to public forms, Naboth was set on high among the people.<sup>1</sup> The accusers and the witnesses also stood, unless they were allowed to sit by the indulgence of the judges, when they stated the accusation, or gave their testimony. To this custom of the accusers rising from their seats, when called by the court to read the indictment, our Lord alludes, in his answer to the scribes and Pharisees, who expressed a wish to see him perform some miracle : " The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it." According to this rule, which seems to have been invariably observed, the Jews who accused the apostle Paul, at the bar of Festus the Roman governor, " stood round about," while they stated the crimes which they had to

<sup>4</sup> Acts xviii, 2. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 95; note.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings-xxi, 0.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xii, 42.



lay to his charge.<sup>k</sup> They were compelled to stand as well as the prisoner, by the established usage of the courts of justice in the east.<sup>l</sup> The Romans often put criminals to the question, or endeavoured to extort a confession from them by torture. Agreeably to this cruel and unjust custom, "the chief captain commanded Paul to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging."<sup>m</sup>

It was usual, especially among the Romans, when a man was charged with a capital crime, and during his arraignment, to let down his hair, suffer his beard to grow long, to wear filthy ragged garments, and appear in a very dirty and sordid habit; on account of which they were called *sordidati*. When the person accused was brought into court to be tried, even his near relations, friends, and acquaintances, before the court voted, appeared with dishevelled hair, and clothed with garments, foul and out of fashion, weeping, crying, and deprecating punishment. The accused sometimes appeared before the judges clothed in black, and his head covered with dust. In allusion to this ancient custom, the prophet Zechariah represents Joshua, the high priest, when he appeared before the Lord, and Satan stood at his right hand to accuse him, as clothed with filthy garments.<sup>n</sup> After the cause was carefully examined, and all parties impartially heard, the public crier, by command of the presiding magistrate, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict. The most ancient way of giving sentence, was by white and black sea shells, or pebbles. This custom has been mentioned by Ovid in these lines :

<sup>k</sup> Acts xxv, 7.

<sup>n</sup> Zech. iii, 3.

<sup>l</sup> Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 68.

<sup>m</sup> Acts xxii, 24. Burder *in loc.*

"*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque lapillis*  
*His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.*"

"It was a custom among the ancients, to give their votes by white or black stones; with these they condemned the guilty, with those acquitted the innocent." In allusion to this ancient custom, our Lord promises to give the spiritual conqueror "a white stone; and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it;"<sup>o</sup> the white stone of absolution or approbation, and inseparably connected with it, a new name of dignity and honour, even that of a child of God and heir of glory, which is known only to himself, or the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received it. When sentence of condemnation was pronounced, if the case was capital, the witnesses put their hands on the head of the criminal, and said, *Thy blood be upon thine own head.*<sup>p</sup> To this custom the Jews alluded, when they cried out at the trial of Christ, "*His blood be on us, and on our children.*" Then was the malefactor led to execution, and none were allowed openly to lament his misfortune. His hands were secured with cords, and his feet with fetters; a custom which furnished David with an affecting allusion, in his lamentation over the dust of Abner: "*Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put in fetters.*"<sup>q</sup>

Executions in the east are often very prompt and ar-

<sup>o</sup> Rev. ii, 17.

<sup>p</sup> Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 71.—"From two remarkable expressions in Homer and Sophocles, it appears that the blood which was found upon the sword was wiped on the head of the slain: an intimation that his own blood shall be upon the head of the deceased, and the living were free from it. "*His blood shall be upon his head*" is a common expression in Scripture." Forber's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 222.   <sup>q</sup> 2 Sam. iii, 34.

bitrary. In many cases the suspicion is no sooner entertained, or the cause of offence given, than the fatal order is issued; the messenger of death hurries to the unsuspecting victim, shews his warrant, and executes his orders that instant in silence and solitude. Instances of this kind are continually occurring in the Turkish and Persian histories. "When the enemies of a great man among the Turks have gained influence enough over the prince to procure a warrant for his death, a *capidgi*, (the name of the officer who executes these orders) is sent to him, who shews him the order he has received to carry back his head; the other takes the warrant of the grand signior, kisses it, puts it on his head in token of respect, and then having performed his ablutions, and said his prayers, freely resigns his life. The *capidgi* having strangled him, cuts off his head, and brings it to Constantinople. The grand signior's order is implicitly obeyed; the servants of the victim never attempt to hinder the executioner, although these *capidgis* come very often with few or no attendants."<sup>2</sup> It appears from the writings of Chardin, that the nobility and grandees of Persia, are put to death in a manner equally silent, hasty, and unobstructed. Such executions were not uncommon among the Jews under the government of their kings. Solomon sent Benaiah as his *capidgi*, or executioner, to put Adonijah, a prince of his own family, to death; and Joab, the commander in chief of the forces in the reign of his father. A *capidgi* likewise beheaded John the Baptist in the prison, and carried his head to the court of Herod. To such

<sup>2</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 373. Thevenot, part i, chap. 46.

<sup>3</sup> In Hindostan, punishment of all offences is exacted immediately after conviction. Orme's Hist. of Military Trans. vol. iv, p. 451.

silent and hasty executioners the royal preacher seems to refer in that proverb ; “ The wrath of a king is as messengers of death ; but a wise man will pacify it : ”<sup>1</sup> his displeasure exposes the unhappy offender to immediate death, and may fill the unsuspecting bosom with terror and dismay, like the appearance of a capidgi ; but by wise and prudent conduct, a man may sometimes escape the danger.

From the dreadful promptitude with which Beniah executed the commands of Solomon on Adonijah, and Joab, it may be concluded that the executioner of the court was as little ceremonious, and the ancient Jews nearly as passive as the Turks or Persians. The prophet Elisha is the only person on the inspired record, who ventured to resist the bloody mandate of the sovereign ; the incident is recorded in these terms : “ But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him ; and the king sent a man from before him ; but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, see how this son of a murderer has sent to take away mine head ? Look when the messenger cometh ; shut the door, and hold him fast at the door—is not the sound of his master’s feet behind him ? ”<sup>2</sup> But if such mandates had not been too common among the Jews, and in general submitted to without resistance, Jehoram had scarcely ventured to dispatch a single messenger to take away the life of so eminent a person as Elisha.

Criminals were at other times executed in public ; and then commonly, without the city. To such executions without the gate, the Psalmist undoubtedly refers in this complaint : “ The dead bodies of thy saints have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven ; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth ; their blood

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xvi, 14.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings vi, 32.

have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.”<sup>v</sup> The last clause admits of two senses. 1<sup>st</sup>, There was no friend or relations left to bury them. 2<sup>d</sup>, None were allowed to perform this last office. The despotism of eastern princes often proceeds to a degree of extravagance which is apt to fill the mind with astonishment and horror. It has been thought, from time immemorial, highly criminal to bury those who had lost their lives by the hand of an executioner, without permission. In Morocco, no person dares to bury the body of a malefactor without an order from the emperor; and Windus, who visited that country, speaking of a man who was sawn in two, informs us, that “his body must have remained to be eaten by the dogs if the emperor had not pardoned him; an extravagant custom to pardon a man after he is dead; but unless he does so, no person dares bury the body.”<sup>w</sup> To such a degree of savage barbarity it is probable the enemies of God’s people carried their opposition, that no person dared to bury the dead bodies of their innocent victims.

In ancient times, persons of the highest rank and station were employed to execute the sentence of the law. They had not then, as we have at present, public executioners; but the prince laid his commands on any of his courtiers whom he chose, and probably selected the person for whom he had the greatest favour. Gideon commanded Jether, his eldest son, to execute his sentence on the kings of Midian: the king of Israel ordered the footmen who stood around him, and were probably a chosen body of soldiers for the defence of his person, to put to death the priests of the Lord; and when they refused,

<sup>v</sup> *Psa. lxxix, 2, 3.*

<sup>w</sup> *Journey to Mequinez, p. 187.*

Doeg, an Edomite, one of his principal officers. Long after the days of Saul, the reigning monarch commanded Beniah, the chief captain of his armies, to perform that duty. Sometimes the chief magistrate executed the sentence of the law with his own hands; for when Jether shrunk from the duty which his father required, Gideon, at that time the supreme magistrate in Israel, did not hesitate to do it himself. In these times such a command would be reckoned equally barbarous and unbecoming; but the ideas which were entertained in those primitive ages of honour and propriety, were in many respects extremely different from ours. In Homer, the exasperated Ulysses commanded his son Telemachus to put to death the suitors of Penelope, which was immediately done.\* The custom of employing persons of high rank to execute the sentence of the law, is still retained in the principality of Senaar, where the public executioner is one of the principal nobility; and, by virtue of his office, resides in the royal palace.†

The trial by ordeal, is well known in eastern countries, and was appointed by God himself in the law of Moses in cases of jealousy: "The priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord; and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle, the priest shall take and put it into the water, and give her to drink."<sup>‡</sup> Among the Hindoos, trials by ordeal are frequent, and conducted in many different ways, of which, one strikingly resembles the Jewish ordeal by the water of jealousy. Trial by the *cosha*, is thus described in the Asiatic Researches: "The

\* Odyssey, lib. x, l. 465.

† Bruce's Trav. vol. vi, p. 372.

‡ Numb. v, 14.

accused is made to drink three draughts of the water, in which the images of the sun, of Devi, and other deities, have been washed for that purpose; and if within fourteen days he has any sickness or indisposition, his crime is considered as proved."<sup>a</sup>

When the accused person was convicted of the crime laid to his charge, he was subjected to a capital or arbitrary punishment, according to the nature of his offence. One of the most common punishments in use among the Jews, was stoning, which appears to have been a most grievous and terrible infliction: "When the criminal arrived within four cubits of the place of execution, he was stripped naked, only leaving a covering before; and his hands being bound, he was led up to the fatal spot, which was an eminence about twice the height of a man. The first executioners of the sentence, were the witnesses, who generally pulled off their clothes for that purpose: one of them threw him down with great violence upon his loins; if he rolled upon his breast, he was turned upon his loins again: and if he died by the fall, the sentence of the law was executed; but if not, the other witness took a great stone and dashed it on his breast as he lay upon his back; and then, if he was not dispatched, all the people that stood by, threw stones at him till he died."<sup>b</sup> Lapidation was also a common punishment in Greece,<sup>c</sup> and was usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks on those that were taken in adultery, as we learn from the third Iliad, where Hector tells Paris, that for all his villanies, he should be stoned to death:

*ἄνθρωπος ὅστις χλευσθεῖσιν ἄνθρωποις ὅτις ὁδὸν ἰσχυρῆς.* *Il. lib. iii, l. 57.*

<sup>a</sup> Asiatic Res. vol. i, p. 389.

<sup>b</sup> Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 74, 76.

<sup>c</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 135.

The capital punishment next in severity, was burning. "They set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a towel about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses, till they made his mouth gape, into which they poured melted lead down his throat, which consumed his bowels. This was called by the Jews, the burning of the soul; but as the same word is used to signify the burning of combustible matter which is cast into the fire, it is supposed that such a method was sometimes practised, which is called by the Jews the burning of the body, and was probably the death to which the patriarch Judah condemned Tamar his daughter-in-law: "Bring her forth, and let her be burnt."<sup>d</sup>

Others were condemned to be slain with the sword, which was by decapitation, executed in the manner used in modern times. Such was the punishment which David inflicted on the Amalekite, for putting Saul to death. It seems also to be the usual punishment in Abyssinia, for taking away the life of a king; for Socinioa, an Abyssinian monarch, being informed, that one *Mahardin*, a Moor, had been the first to break through that respect due to a king, by wounding *Za Denghel*, his predecessor, at the battle of Bartcho, he ordered him to be brought at noon-day, before the gate of his palace, and his head to be then struck off with an axe, as a just atonement for violated majesty.\* The punishment of strangling, as described by the Jewish writers, resembled the Turkish punishment of the bow-string, rather than the present mode of executing by the gibbet. The offender was placed up to the loins in dung, and a napkin was twisted about his neck, and drawn hard by the witnesses, till he was dead.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xxxviii, 24. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 76.

\* Bruce's Trav. vol. ii, p. 362. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i, p. 77.



Those who had committed great and notorious offences, and who deserved to be made public examples, were hanged upon a tree after they had actually suffered the death to which they were condemned ; which shews, that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion, in which the malefactors were nailed to the gibbet, and left to expire by slow and excruciating torments. The Hebrew custom was no more than hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them for some time to open shame. For this purpose, a piece of timber was fixed in the ground, out of which came a beam, to which the hands of the sufferer were tied, so that his body hung in the posture of a person on the cross. When the sun set, the body was taken down ; for the law says, " He that is hanged on a tree, is accursed of God ;" not that the criminal was accursed because he was hanged, but he was hanged because he was accursed.<sup>f</sup>

In the time of execution, they gave the malefactor a grain of frankincense in a cup of wine, in order to stupify and render him less sensible of pain. This custom is traced to the charge of the wise man : " Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts."<sup>g</sup> The prophet makes an allusion to the powerful effects of this stupifying draught, in that prediction which announces the judgements of God upon the empire of Babylon : " Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them."<sup>h</sup> Hence the Jews, according to the custom of their country, gave our Lord wine mingled with myrrh at his crucifixion ;

<sup>f</sup> Lewis Origines Hebrew, vol. i, p. 75.

<sup>h</sup> Jer. xxv, 15, 16.

<sup>g</sup> Prov. xxiv, 8. Lewis Origines Hebrew, vol. i, p. 72.

but, besides the medicated draught, in derision of his kingly character, they offered him vinegar mingled with gall, instead of sweet wine, which was the drink of oriental sovereigns. The first cup might seem to indicate some degree of compassion in his enemies, but the next was a cruel insult to the unoffending sufferer.

But besides these capital punishments that were inflicted by the Jews according to their law, the sacred writers allude to several kinds of death to which malefactors were condemned in Syria and the circumjacent countries, of which the laws of Moses take no notice. One of these was the punishment of drowning, which was frequently imposed by the ancient Syrians. The criminal had a heavy weight put about his neck, or was rolled up in a sheet of lead, and cast into a river or into the sea. Such is the account which our Lord himself gives of this punishment: "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."<sup>1</sup>

In his prediction relative to the destruction of the temple, in another part of the same gospel, he makes an allusion to the horrible punishment of cutting a living criminal asunder, which, according to some writers, was sometimes inflicted in Judea, and in particular, suffered by the prophet Isaiah under the bloody reign of Manasseh: "The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrite."<sup>1</sup> Many instances occur in ancient writers, of this method of executing criminals; and from Dr. Shaw

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xviii, 6.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv, 50, 51.

and other modern travellers we learn, that it is still in use among some nations, particularly the western Moors in Barbary.<sup>k</sup> It is thought to have come originally from Persia or Chaldea; and it certainly corresponds with the barbarous dispositions which those bitter and hasty nations too much indulged. Calmet informs us, that not many years ago, the Swiss executed this terrible punishment in the plain of Grenelles, near Paris, on one of their own countrymen who had been guilty of a great crime. They put him into a coffin and sawed him at length, beginning at the head, as a piece of wood is sawn. Parisates the king of Persia, caused Roxana to be sawn in two alive.<sup>l</sup> According to Windus, the same dreadful punishment is often inflicted in Morocco, where the criminal is put between two boards, and sawn from the head downwards till the body fall in two pieces. The laws of the twelve tables, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, condemned certain malefactors to the punishment of the saw; but the execution of it was so rare, that, according to Aulus Gellius, none remembered to have seen it practised. But in the time of Caligula the emperor, many people of rank and fortune were condemned to be sawn in two through the middle.<sup>m</sup>

The Greeks and Romans condemned some of their criminals to be cast down from the top of a rock.<sup>n</sup> In the time of Pitts, the inhabitants of Constantine, a town in Turkey, built on the summit of a great rock, commonly executed their criminals who had been guilty of more atrocious crimes, by casting them headlong from the cliff.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Shaw's Trav. vol. i, p. 456, 457.

<sup>l</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 134.

<sup>l</sup> Journey to Méquinez, p. 157.

<sup>o</sup> Trav. p. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Suetonius, lib. iv, sec. 26.

This punishment Amaziah the king of Judah inflicted on ten thousand Edomites whom he had taken captive in war: "Other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them to the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, and they were all broken in pieces."<sup>p</sup>

Pounding in a mortar is a punishment still used among the Turks. The Ulemats, or body of lawyers, in Turkey, are by law secured in two important privileges—they cannot lose their goods by confiscation, nor can they be put to death except by the pestle and mortar.<sup>q</sup> The guards of the towers who suffered prince Coreskie to escape from prison, were, some of them impaled, and others pounded or beaten to pieces in great mortars of iron, by orders of the Turkish government. This dreadful punishment appears to have been occasionally imposed by the Jewish rulers, for Solomon clearly alludes to it in one of his Proverbs: "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."<sup>r</sup>

The head, the hands, and the feet of state criminals, were often cut off, and fixed up in the most public places, as a warning to others. This shocking custom is not unknown in the criminal proceedings of countries which lie at a great distance from Palestine. It may be traced up to a very remote antiquity, for the sacred historian informs us, that David commanded the hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who treacherously murdered Ishbosheth, to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of Hebron.<sup>s</sup>

Another mode of capital punishment, to which the in-

<sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. xxv, 12.

<sup>q</sup> Du Tott's Mem. vol. i, p. 65.

<sup>r</sup> Prov. xxvii, 22.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Sam. iv, 12.

spired writers refer, is crucifixion. It was used in Greece, but not so frequently as at Rome. It consisted of two beams, one of which was placed across the other, in a form nearly resembling the letter T, but with this difference, that the transverse beam was fixed a little below the top of the straight one. When a person was crucified, he was nailed to the cross as it lay upon the ground, his feet to the upright and his hands to each side of the transverse beam; it was then erected, and the foot of it thrust with violence into a hole prepared in the ground to receive it. By this means, the body, whose whole weight hung upon the nails which went through the hands and feet, was completely disjointed, and the sufferer expired by slow and agonizing torments.<sup>†</sup> This kind of death, the most cruel, shameful, and accursed that could be devised, was used by the Romans only for slaves, and the basest of the people. The malefactors were crucified naked, that is, without their upper garments; for it does not appear they were stripped of all their clothes, and we know that an oriental was said to be naked, when he had parted with his upper garments, which were loosely bound about him with a girdle.

The miserable wretches that were fastened to the cross, often lived long in that dreadful condition; some are said to have lingered three days, and others nine. Eusebius speaks of certain martyrs in Egypt, that hung upon the cross till they were starved to death. Sometimes the malefactors were devoured by birds and beasts of prey; and after death, they were generally cast out in the open field, to become the prey of every devourer. To prevent the relations of the criminals or others, from taking them

<sup>†</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i, p. 134.

down and burying them, a guard was placed around the cross. A guard of Roman soldiers was accordingly stationed round the cross of Jesus, to watch him both before and after he died; for it appears from the inspired narrative, that Joseph of Arimathea durst not take down the sacred body of his Lord, till he had obtained permission from the Roman governor.

It was the custom to crucify without the walls of their cities, on some eminence, or on the top of a mountain. Hence, our Lord was led away to be crucified without the gate, on the top of Calvary, a mount in the neighbourhood of the city, which for that reason was chosen as the common place of execution. He "went forth bearing his cross," which, according to Plutarch, every person was compelled to do that suffered crucifixion. Among other instances of ignominy and suffering which accompanied the death of Christ, it is written, they plaited a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head. In the opinion of Hasselquist, the naba or nabka of the Arabians, is, in all probability, the tree which furnished that instrument of insult and cruelty. It grows in great abundance in various parts of the east, and is well fitted for the purpose, being armed with many small and sharp spines, that, when applied with violence to the head; must produce exquisite pain. The crown might easily be made of the soft, round, and pliant branches of this thorny plant; and, what he considers as the strongest proof, is, the leaves much resemble those of ivy, in the darkness of their colour. The cruel and malicious enemies of the Saviour, would probably choose a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and victorious generals were usually crowned, that there might be calumny even

in the punishment. Others are of opinion, that it was the acacia, or white thorn, or the *juncus marinus*; but after all, the matter must be left indeterminate."

Another species of capital punishment which serves to illustrate the sacred text, is the pit into which the condemned persons were precipitated. The Athenians, and particularly the tribe Hippothoontis, frequently condemned offenders to the pit. It was a dark noisome hole, and had sharp spikes at the top, that no criminal might escape; and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment those unhappy persons that were cast in.

Similar to this place, was the Lacedæmonian *Krandas*, into which, Aristomenes the Messenian being cast, made his escape in a very surprising manner." This mode of punishment is of great antiquity; for the speakers in the book of Job, make several allusions to it. Thus, in the speech of Elihu: "He keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword." Then is he gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit; I have found a ransom." "He will deliver his soul from going down into the pit, and his life shall see the light." The allusions in the book of Psalms are numerous and interesting; thus, the Psalmist prays, "Be not silent to me; lest if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit." "Let them be cast into deep pits, that they rise not up again." The following allusion occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah: "The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail."

<sup>a</sup> Hasselquist's Trav. p. 288.

<sup>v</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 135.

<sup>w</sup> Job xxxiii, 18, 24.

<sup>x</sup> Ps. xxviii, 1; and xl, 10.

<sup>y</sup> Isa. li, 14.

Among the Romans, criminals were sometimes burnt alive; and to increase their torment, they were dressed in a tunic besmeared with pitch and other combustible matter. The holy Psalmist seems to allude to this kind of death in his prayer for deliverance from his enemies: "Let burning coals fall upon them; let them be cast into the fire." And Jehovah encourages his afflicted people with this gracious promise: "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt."\* This punishment was probably borrowed from the Assyrians, among whom it seems to have been very common; a striking instance of which occurs in the story of the three children, who were cast by the command of Nebuchadnezzar into the fiery furnace.

Criminals were sometimes hewed in pieces, and their mangled bodies given as a prey to ravenous beasts. This punishment seems to have been extremely common in Abyssinia when Mr. Bruce was there, and was probably handed down from the founders of that kingdom. "Coming across the market place," says the traveller, "I had seen Za Mariam, the Ras's door-keeper, with three men bound, one of whom he fell *hacking to pieces* in my presence; and upon seeing me running across the place, stopping my nose, he called me to stay till he should dispatch the other two, for he wanted to speak with me, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business; that the soldiers, in consideration of his haste, immediately fell upon the other two, whose cries were still remaining in my ears; that the hyenas at night, would scarcely let me pass in the streets, when I returned from the palace; and the dogs fled into my house, to eat pieces

\* Isa. xlii, 2.



of human carcasses at their leisure."<sup>a</sup> This account elucidates the mode of execution adopted by the prophet Samuel, in relation to Agag, the king of Amalek: "And Samuel said, (כַּאֲשֶׁר) As, (or, in the same identical mode) thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal."<sup>b</sup> This was not a sudden and passionate act of vengeance, but a deliberate act of retributive justice. That savage chieftain had hewed many prisoners to death; and therefore, by the command of Jehovah the Judge of all the earth, he is visited with the same punishment which he had cruelly used towards others.

But one of the most dreadful punishments which can be inflicted in the torrid zone, is to expose the criminal to perish by thirst.<sup>c</sup> In the lamentation for Moab, how strongly expressive is the doom of Dibon in which the prophet alludes to this severest visitation: "Thou daughter that dost inhabit Dibon, come down from thy glory, and sit in thirst."<sup>d</sup>

Persons that were guilty of slighter crimes, were subjected to various arbitrary punishments, according to the nature and degree of their offence. The ancient Romans were subjected to a fine, which Livy informs us, at first never exceeded two oxen and thirty sheep; but it was afterwards increased.<sup>e</sup> By the law of Moses, an offending Israelite was punished with fines, differing in value according to the injury sustained. Thus, the king of Israel, in reply to Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb, declared: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die;

<sup>a</sup> Trav. vol. iv, p. 81.

<sup>c</sup> Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii, p. 388.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xv, 33.

<sup>d</sup> Jer. xlviii, 18.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. iv, c. 30.

and he shall restore the lamb four-fold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity."<sup>f</sup> This sentence was required by the law of Moses: "If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep."<sup>g</sup> In some instances, the offender was amerced in a large sum of money; in others, he was only required to restore double.

Bonds were of two kinds, public and private; the former were employed to secure a prisoner in the public jail, after confession or conviction; the latter when he was delivered to a magistrate, or even to private persons, to be kept at their houses till he should be tried. The apostle Paul was subjected to private bonds, by Felix the Roman governor, who "commanded a centurion to keep him, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or come unto him."<sup>h</sup> And after he was carried prisoner to Rome, he "dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him."<sup>i</sup>

There were two prisons in Jerusalem; of which one was called the king's prison, which had a lofty tower that overlooked the royal palace, with a spacious court before it, where state prisoners were confined. The other was designed to secure debtors and other inferior offenders: and in both these the prisoners were supported by the public, on bread and water. Suspected persons were sometimes confined under the custody of state officers, in their own houses; or rather a part of the house which was occupied by the great officers of state, was occasionally converted into a prison. This seems to be a natural conclu-

<sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. xli, 6.

<sup>g</sup> Exod. xxii, 1.

<sup>h</sup> Acts xxiv, 23.

<sup>i</sup> Ch. xxviii, 30.

sion from the statement of the prophet Jeremiah, in which he gives an account of his imprisonment: "Wherefore, the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison, in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made that the prison." This custom, so different from the manners of our country, has descended to modern times; for when Chardin visited the east, their prisons were not public buildings erected for that purpose, but, as in the days of the prophet, a part of the house in which their criminal judges reside. "As the governor, or provost of a town," says our traveller, "or the captain of the watch, imprison such as are accused, in their own houses, they set apart a canton of them for that purpose, when they are put into these offices; and choose for the jailor, the most proper person they can find of their domestics." The royal prison in Jerusalem, and especially the dungeon, into which the prisoner was let down naked, seems to have been a most dreadful place. The latter cannot be better described, than in the words of Jeremiah himself, who for his faithfulness to God and his country, in a most degenerate age, had to encounter all its horrors: "Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon: that was in the court of the prison; and they let him down with cords; and in the dungeon there was no water, but mire; and his feet sunk in the mire." A discretionary power was given to the keeper, to treat his prisoners as he pleased; all that was expected of him being only to produce them when required. If he kept them in safe custody, he might treat them well or ill as he chose; he might put them in irons or not; shut them up close, or indulge them with greater liberty; admit their friends

<sup>1</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 502, 503.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxxviii, 6.

and acquaintances to visit them, or suffer no person to see them. The most worthless characters, the most atrocious criminals, if they can bribe the jailor and his servants with large fees, shall be lodged in his own apartment, and have the best accommodation it can afford; but if he be the enemy of those committed to his charge, or have received larger presents from their prosecutors, he will treat them in the most barbarous manner. To illustrate the miserable condition of an oriental prisoner, Chardin relates a story of a very great Armenian merchant, who for some reason was thrown into prison. So long as he bribed the jailor with large donations, he was treated with the greatest kindness and attention; but upon the party who sued the Armenian, presenting a considerable sum, first to the judge and afterwards to the jailor, the prisoner first experienced a change of treatment. His privileges were retrenched; he was then closely confined; then treated with such inhumanity, as not to be permitted to drink but once in twenty-four hours, and this, in the hottest time of the year; and no person was suffered to see him but the servants of the prison; at length he was thrown into a dungeon, where he was in a quarter of an hour brought to the point, which all this severe usage was intended to gain. After such a relation, we cannot be surprised to find the sacred writers placing so strong an emphasis on "the sighing of the prisoner," and speaking of its coming before God; and the necessity of almighty power being exerted for his deliverance: "Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee; according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die."<sup>1</sup>

State criminals are often treated with still greater seve-

<sup>1</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 502-505. Psal. lxxix, 11.

rity. Besides being forced to submit to a very mean and scanty allowance, they are frequently loaded with clogs, or yokes of heavy wood, in which they cannot either lie or sit at ease. In some of these wooden collars the head was bowed down, and the neck, hands, and feet were made fast. A round engine was at other times put about the neck, in such a manner that the sufferer could not lift his hand to his head; or the feet and legs were secured by ponderous fetters, not unfrequently tortured by distending or dislocating the joints; or the malefactor was stripped naked, and bound with cords to the rack.<sup>m</sup> Our Lord makes an allusion to this deplorable condition, in the parable of the wicked servant: "And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him."<sup>n</sup> This treatment Paul and Silas experienced at Philippi; the Roman magistrates, according to their usual custom, commanded the lictors violently to rend open their clothes, and scourge them with rods; after their bodies were cruelly lacerated with many stripes, they were thrown into prison, and their feet were made "fast in the stocks."<sup>o</sup> It is generally supposed, that these were the cippi, or large pieces of wood used among the Romans, which not only loaded the legs of prisoners, but sometimes distended them in a very painful manner; so that it is highly probable, the situation of Paul and Silas here, might be made more painful than that of an offender sitting in the stocks, as used among us, especially if, (as is very possible,) they lay with their bare backs, so lately scourged, on the hard or dirty ground; which renders their joyful frame, expressed by songs of praise,

<sup>m</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i, p. 131.

<sup>n</sup> Matth. xviii, 34.

<sup>o</sup> Acts xvi, 24.

so much the more remarkable. Beza explains it of the *numellæ*, in which both the feet and the neck were fastened, in the most uneasy posture that can well be imagined.<sup>1</sup>

Servitude was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced to the condition of a slave. Among the Athenians, it was never inflicted on any, except the *Atimoi*, sojourners, and freed servants; because it was forbidden by one of Solon's laws, that any freeborn citizen should be treated as a bond servant.<sup>2</sup> This law seems to have been derived from the Jewish code; which in certain circumstances, permitted an Israelite to be sold, but forbade the purchaser to work him as a slave, or retain him longer than the year of jubilee.<sup>3</sup> Theft was one of those crimes, (perhaps the only one), for which a free-born Israelite, who could not make restitution, might be reduced into a state of servitude; but if he was able to pay the appointed fine, he was entitled to be set at liberty.<sup>4</sup>

Scourging was a very common punishment among the Jews. It was inflicted in two ways; with thongs or whips made of ropes or straps of leather; or with rods, twigs, or branches of some tree. The offender was stripped from his shoulders to his middle, and tied by his arms to a low pillar, that his back might be more fully exposed to the lash of the executioner, who stood behind him upon a stone, to have more power over him, and scourged him both on the back and breast, in open court, before the face of his judges. Among the Arabians, the prisoner is placed upright on the ground, with his hands and feet bound together, while the executioner stands before him,

<sup>1</sup> Burder, vol. i, ob. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. xxv, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xxii, 3.

and with a short stick strikes him with a smart motion on the outside of his knees. The pain which these strokes produce is exquisitely severe, and which no constitution can support for any length of time. The Romans often inflicted the punishment of the scourge; the instruments employed were sticks or staves, rods, and whips or lashes. The first were almost peculiar to the camp; the last were reserved for slaves, while rods were applied to citizens, till they were removed by the Porcian law.\*

The *lex talionis*, a punishment similar to the injury, is mentioned in the twelve tables; but seems to have been very seldom executed, because by law the removal of it could be purchased by a pecuniary compensation. This most equitable law holds a conspicuous place in the Jewish code; the application of which was made absolute, as will appear from the words in which it is couched: "And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."†

Offenders were sometimes exposed to infamy or public disgrace.‡ At Rome this punishment was imposed either by the censors, or by law, and by the edict of the prætor. Those made infamous by a judicial sentence, were deprived of their dignity, and rendered incapable of enjoying places of power and trust; sometimes of being witnesses, or making a testament. In Judea, the punishment of infamy consisted chiefly in cutting off the hair of evil doers; yet it is thought that pain was added to disgrace, and that they tore off the hair with violence, as if they were plucking a bird alive. This is the genuine sig-

\* Adam's Roman Antiq. p. 272.

† Exod. xxi, 23, &c.

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i, p. 120.

nification of the Hebrew word used by Nehemiah in describing his conduct towards those Jews who had violated the law by taking strange wives: "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them; and *plucked off* their hair."<sup>x</sup> This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, instead of plucking off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved.<sup>y</sup>

The orientals, in some cases, deprive the criminal of the light of day, by sealing up his eyes. A son of the great Mogul was actually suffering this punishment when Sir Thomas Roe visited the court of Delhi. The hapless youth was cast into prison, and deprived of the light by some adhesive plaster put upon his eyes, for the space of three years; after which the seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light; but he was still detained in prison. Other princes have been treated in a different manner, to prevent them from conspiring against the reigning monarch, or meddling with affairs of state: they have been compelled to swallow opium, and other stupifying drugs, to weaken or benumb their faculties, and render them unfit for business. Influenced by such absurd and cruel policy, Shah Abbas, the celebrated Persian monarch, who died in 1629, ordered a certain quantity of opium to be given every day to his grandson, who was to be his successor, to stupify him, and prevent him from disturbing his government. Such are probably the circumstances alluded to by the prophet: "They have not known, nor understood; for he hath shut their eyes

<sup>x</sup> Neh. xiii, 25.

<sup>y</sup> Burder, vol. i, ob. 141.



that they cannot see; and their hearts that they cannot understand."<sup>a</sup> The verb (טָח) *tah*, rendered in our version, to shut, signifies to overlay, to cover over the surface; thus the king of Israel prepared three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of refined silver (טָח) to overlay the walls of the temple.<sup>a</sup> But it generally signifies to overspread, or daub over, as with mortar or plaster, of which Parkhurst quotes a number of examples; a sense which entirely corresponds with the manner in which the eyes of a criminal are sealed up in some parts of the east. The practice of sealing up the eyes, and stupifying a criminal with drugs, seems to have been contemplated by the same prophet in another passage of his book: "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed."<sup>b</sup>

Deprivation of sight was a very common punishment in the east. It was at first the practice to seal the eyes with a hot iron; but a discovery that this was not effectual led to the cruel method of taking them out altogether with a sharp-pointed instrument. The objects of this barbarity are usually persons who have aspired to the throne, or who are supposed likely to make such an attempt. It is also inflicted on chieftains whom it is desirable to deprive of power without putting them to death; and instances occur where the male inhabitants of a city that has rebelled are exposed to this punishment, in order to strike terror by a dreadful example.<sup>c</sup> For

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xlv, 18.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Chron. xxix, 4.

<sup>b</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 508, 509, 510.

<sup>c</sup> Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii, p. 162, 165, 170, 262, 431, 453.

this reason the hapless Zedekiah was punished with the loss of sight, because he had rebelled against the king of Babylon, and endeavoured to recover the independence of his throne. "Then he put out the eyes of Zedekiah; and the king of Babylon bound him in chains, and carried him to Babylon, and put him in prison till the day of his death."<sup>4</sup>

The Romans punished some of their criminals by exposing them to the rage of wild beasts in the theatres: Sometimes they cast them naked to the savage animals; exasperated by long fasting, to be devoured; this punishment was reserved for wicked servants, and persons of the vilest character. Sometimes they sent men armed into the theatre, to fight with beasts, and if they could conquer them, and save themselves, they obtained their liberty; but if not, they became the prey of their savage antagonists. It is the last custom to which the apostle refers in these words to the Corinthians: "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus."<sup>5</sup> But persons appointed to certain death were brought forth on the theatre, in the after part of the day, to fight either with each other, or with wild beasts. To this kind of spectacles, which were quite common in all the provinces of the Roman empire, the apostle makes a pointed allusion in these words: "For I think that God hath set forth us, the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men."<sup>6</sup> "Doomed to certain death, they were exhibited *σχατοις*, last, or in the afternoon, when they had not the poor chance of escaping which those brought forth in the morning had. The words *απειδεσι* exhibited, and

<sup>4</sup> Jer. lii, 11.<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. v, 32.<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. iv, 9.

οἱ ἄνθρωποι, a spectacle, on the theatre, have, in this connection, a beautiful propriety. The whole passage, indeed, is full of high eloquence, and finely adapted to move their compassion in favour of those who were so generously expiring and sacrificing themselves for the public good."<sup>a</sup>

The ancients sometimes exposed criminals to a particular species of torture, by means of a tympanum or drum, on which they were extended in the most violent manner, and then beaten with clubs, which must have been attended with exquisite pain. To this mode of punishment, Doddridge is of opinion the apostle alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews, where he describes the sufferings of ancient believers: "Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance," because the word *τυμπατισμοῦ*, tortured, is not a general term, but one which signifies the specific torture of the tympanum. It is, however, generally understood by interpreters, not as a mode of punishment distinct from others, but as a general term for all kinds of capital punishment and violent death; but the opinion of Doddridge ought to be preferred, because the original word possesses a specific character; and the passage viewed in that light is precise and impressive.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Doddridge *in loc.*

<sup>b</sup> Barder's *Orient. Cust.* vol. 1, p. 381, 382.

## CHAP. XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE PUBLIC GAMES  
IN GREECE.

*Games and combats instituted by the ancients in honour of their gods.—The most renowned heroes, legislators, and statesmen contended in these games.—The victors were crowned with laurel.—Returned to their homes in a triumphal chariot.—These exercises intended to prepare the youth for the profession of arms.—The conductor of the games.—The combatants trained from their earliest years.—Preparatory exercises.—Laws of the games.—Boxers exercising.—Runners.—Athletes laid aside their clothes.—The cap-tus.—Leather cap.—Pugilism, the most rude and dangerous exercise.—Wrestlers.—Preparing for combat.—Manner of the contest.—Foot-race.—The lists.—Entrance, middle, and extremity of the stadium.—Prizes set up at the middle.—Goal, at the extremity.—Strictness of the rules.—Chariot races.—Rewards various.—Judges.—Herald.—Crowns.—Competitors rejected.*

GAMES and combats were instituted by the ancients in honour of their gods; and were celebrated with that view by the most polished and enlightened nations of antiquity. The most renowned heroes, legislators, and statesmen, did not think it unbecoming their character and dignity, to mingle with the combatants, or contend in the race; they even reckoned it glorious to share in the exercises, and meritorious to carry away the prize. The victors were crowned with a wreath of laurel in presence of their country; they were celebrated in the rapturous effusions of their poets; they were admired, and almost adored by the innumerable multitudes which flocked to the games, from every part of Greece, and many of the adjacent coun-

tries. They returned to their own homes in a triumphal chariot, and made their entrance into their native city, not through the gates which admitted the vulgar throng, but through a breach in the walls, which were broken down to give them admission; and at the same time to express the persuasion of their fellow-citizens, that walls are of small use to a city defended by men of such tried courage and ability. Hence the surprising ardour which animated all the states of Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and encircle their brows with wreaths, which rendered them still more the objects of admiration or envy to succeeding times, than the victories they had gained, or the laws they had enacted.\*

But the institutors of those games and combats, had higher and nobler objects in view than veneration for the mighty dead, or the gratification of ambition or vanity; it was their design to prepare the youth for the profession of arms; to confirm their health; to improve their strength, their vigour, and activity; to enure them to fatigue; and to render them intrepid in close fight, where in the infancy of the art of war, muscular force commonly decided the victory

This statement accounts for the striking allusions which the apostle Paul makes in his epistles to these celebrated exercises. Such references were calculated to touch the heart of a Greek, and of every one familiarly acquainted with them; in the liveliest manner, as well as to place before the eye of his mind the most glowing and correct images of spiritual and divine things. No passages in the nervous and eloquent epistles from the pen of Paul, have been more admired by critics and expositors, even

\* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i, p 440.

in modern times, than those into which some allusion to these agonistic exercises is introduced; and, perhaps, none are calculated to leave a deeper impression on the Christian's mind, or excite a stronger and more salutary influence on his actions.

Certain persons were appointed to take care that all things were done according to custom, to decide controversies that happened amongst the antagonists, and to adjudge the prize to the victor.<sup>b</sup> Some eminent writers are of opinion that Christ is called the "author and finisher of faith," in allusion to these judges. "Thus," says Mr. Dunlop, "he eases us of our burdens, animates our faintness, retards the progress of our enemies, and at length will, with his own hand, set upon our heads that beautiful diadem which he hath purchased with his own blood."<sup>c</sup>

Those who were designed for the profession of *athletæ*, or combatants, frequented from their earliest years the academies maintained for that purpose at the public expense. In these places, they were exercised under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen to which they submitted was very hard and severe. At first, they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread called *μαζα*; they were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence.

When they proposed to contend in the Olympian games, they were obliged to repair to the public gymnasium at

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 441.

<sup>c</sup> Burder's Orient. Cust. ob. 366.

Elis, ten months before the solemnity, where they prepared themselves by continual exercises. No man that had omitted to present himself at the appointed time, was allowed to put in for any of the prizes; nor were the accustomed rewards of victory given to such persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their antagonists; nor would any apology, though seemingly ever so reasonable, serve to excuse their absence. No person that was himself a notorious criminal, or nearly related to one, was permitted to contend. Further, to prevent underhand dealings, if any person was convicted of bribing his adversary, a severe fine was laid upon him; nor was this alone thought a sufficient guard against unfair contracts and unjust practices, but the contenders were obliged to swear they had spent ten whole months in preparatory exercises; and besides all this, they, their fathers, and their brethren, took a solemn oath, that they would not by any sinister or unlawful means, endeavour to stop the fair and just proceedings of the games.<sup>d</sup>

The spiritual contest, in which all true Christians aim at obtaining a heavenly crown, has its rules also, devised and enacted by infinite wisdom and goodness, which require implicit and exact submission, which neither yield to times nor circumstances, but maintain their supreme authority, from age to age, uninterrupted and unimpaired. The combatant who violates these rules forfeits the prize, and is driven from the field with indelible disgrace, and consigned to everlasting woe. Hence the great apostle of the Gentiles, exhorts his son Timothy strictly to observe the precepts of the divine law, the rule of his com-

<sup>d</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i, p. 449.

duet in the hand of the Mediator, without which, he can no more hope to obtain the approbation of God, and the possession of the heavenly crown, than a combatant in the public games of Greece, who disregards the established rules, can hope to receive from the hands of his judge the promised reward: "And if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully,"\* or according to the established laws of the games.

Like the Grecian combatants, the Christian must be wellborn; born, "not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever;" he must be free: "a citizen with the saints, and of the household of faith;" he must "abstain from fleshly lusts," and "walk in all the statutes and commandments of the Lord, blameless." Such was Paul; and in this manner he endeavoured to act: "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."<sup>f</sup> The latter part of this verse Doddridge renders, "lest after having served as an herald I should be disapproved;" and says in a note, "I thought it of importance to retain the primitive sense of these gymnastic expressions." It is well known to those who are at all acquainted with the original, that the word *ἐπαγγέλλων*, means to discharge the office of a herald, whose business it was to proclaim the conditions of the games, and display the prizes, to awaken the emulation and resolution of those who were to contend in them. But the apostle intimates, that there was this peculiar circumstance attending the Christian contest, that the person who proclaimed its laws and rewards to others, was also to engage

\* 2 Tim. ii, 5.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. ix, 27.



himself; and that there would be a peculiar infamy and misery in his miscarrying. *Adonias*, which we render *cast-away*, signifies one who is disapproved by the judge of the games, as not having fairly deserved the prize.

The rule which the apostle applies to himself, he extends in another passage to all the members of the Christian church; all without exception must lead a sober and penitent life; "Those who strive for the mastery are temperate in all things; now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the athletes endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed on themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions.

In order to attain the greater agility and dexterity, it was usual for those who intended to box in the games, to exercise their arms with the gauntlet on, when they had no antagonist near them, and this was called *πρὸς ἀέρα*, in which a man would of course beat the air. In the foot race, the runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. While they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable, and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility; in such exercises, they might be said with great propriety to *run uncertainly*, towards

no particular point, and with no direct or immediate view to the prize. Both these allusions occur in the declaration of the apostle: "I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air."<sup>a</sup> He did not engage in his Christian course, as one doubtful in himself, whether in pursuing the path of duty, he should have the honour of being crowned at last or not; as they are, who know that one only receives the prize; nor did he exercise himself unto godliness, like boxers or wrestlers, who sometimes fight in jest, or merely to prepare for the combat, or to display their strength and agility, while they had no resistance to encounter, no enemy to subdue, no reward to merit; but he pressed on, fully persuaded, that by the grace of God, he should obtain an incorruptible crown from the hands of his Redeemer.

The *athletæ* took care to disencumber their bodies of every article of clothing, which could in any manner hinder or incommode them. The pugilists at first used a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, modesty was in future sacrificed to convenience, and the apron was laid aside. In the foot race, they were anxious to carry as little weight as possible; and uniformly stripped themselves of all such clothes, as by their weight, length, or otherwise, might entangle or retard them in the course. The Christian also, must "lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset" him;<sup>b</sup> in the exercise of faith and self-denial, he must "cast off the works of darkness," lay aside all malice and guile, hypocrisies, and envyings, and evil speakings, inordinate affections, and worldly cares, and whatever else might ob-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ix, 26.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. xii, 1.

struct his holy profession, damp his spirits, and hinder his progress in the paths of righteousness.

The exercise of boxing, was sometimes performed by combatants, having in their hands balls of stone or lead. At first, their hands and arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with thongs of leather, called cestus, which were used both as defensive arms, and to annoy the enemy, being filled with plummets of lead and iron, to add force to the blows.<sup>1</sup>

Besides protecting their hands with the cestus or glove, they covered their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence.

How fiercely soever the combatants fought, the length of the contest frequently reduced them to the necessity of making a pause: the battle was suspended for some minutes, which were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed, after which they renewed the fight, till one of the combatants, by dropping his arms or swooning away, yielded the victory.

This was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because the antagonists ran the hazard, either of being disabled, or losing their lives. They sometimes fell down dead or dying upon the sand; or they quitted the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know themselves; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.<sup>2</sup>

It is to this rude and dangerous exercise, the apostle

<sup>1</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Rollin's An. Hist. vol. i, p. 71.

refers in his reasoning with the Hebrew converts: "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin."† The contest in which they were engaged with their adversaries, had been severe and of long continuance; they had sustained no small loss of liberty and property, which they cheerfully resigned for the sake of Christ, in hope of a better inheritance in heaven; they were in danger of becoming weary and faint in their minds, from the length of the contest; but though their antagonists had often tried to defeat and foil them, they had not been permitted to shed their blood, or take away their lives as they did to many of the saints in preceding ages. The combatant in the public games, who gave up the contest before he had lost a drop of his blood, merely because he had received a few contusions, or been roughly handled by his opponent, would have been infallibly branded with infamy. Not less shameful and infinitely more dangerous, it would have been for any of these Hebrews to flinch from their duty, or desist from their Christian course, on account of the slighter difficulties and losses they had met with in striving against sin.

Wrestlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oil, in order to increase the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palæstra*, sometimes by throwing fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, they began their combat. They were

† Heb. xii, 4.

matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers, was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed to this purpose; they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs in each other's, seizing by the neck or throat, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks.

In this manner, the *athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors. To this combat, the words of Eliphaz seem to apply: "For he stretcheth out his hand against God" like a wrestler, challenging his antagonist to the contest, "and strengtheneth himself," rather vaunteth himself, stands up haughtily, and boasts of his prowess in the full view of "the Almighty," throwing abroad his arms, clapping his hands together, springing into the middle of the ring, and taking his station there in the adjusted attitude of defiance. "He runneth upon him, even upon his neck," or with his neck stretched out, furiously dashing his head against the other; and this he does, even when he perceives that his adversary is covered with defensive armour, upon which he can make no impression: "he runneth upon the thick bosses of his bucklers."<sup>1</sup> But when it happened that the wrestler who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got

<sup>1</sup> Taylor's *Calmet*, vol. iii.

uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished.<sup>m</sup> Such appears to have been the manner in which Jacob wrestled with the angel: "And Jacob was left alone: and there wrestled a man with him, until the breaking of the day."<sup>n</sup> The verb which we render to wrestle, is derived from the noun (פֶּזֶק) *abak*, dust or fine sand, and means to struggle in the dust, or to sprinkle each other with small dust, after the manner of wrestlers. Hence, the victory was not contested by Jacob and the angel standing, as Rollin seems to suppose, but rolling in the dust. Thus in Virgil, the happy tenants of the Elysian fields were employed: "Some exercise their limbs on the grassy plains, contend in sports, and wrestle on the yellow sand:"

"Pars in graminis exercent membra palæstris ;

Contendunt ludo, et fulva luctantur arena." *Æn. lib. vi. l. 643.*

There is only another text in which the sacred writer may seem to make an allusion to this species of contest: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers;"<sup>p</sup> but as the apostle in the verse before, directs the Ephesians to put on the whole-armour of God, that they might be able to stand against the wiles of the devil, he must allude, not to the combat of the wrestler, who performed his exercises naked, but to the art of war, in which the combatant appeared in complete armour, and endeavoured to make the best use of every weapon, offensive or defensive, which art or nature supplied.

The only other athletic exercise to which the sacred writers allude, is the foot race. It seems to have been

<sup>m</sup> Rollin's Ancient Hist. vol. i, p. 69.

<sup>n</sup> Gen. xxxii, 24.

<sup>p</sup> Eph. vi, 12.

placed in the first rank of public games, and cultivated with a care and industry proportioned to the estimation in which it was held. The olympic games generally opened with races, and were celebrated at first with no other exercise.<sup>p</sup> The lists or course where the athletes exercised themselves in running, was at first but one stadium in length, or about six hundred feet; and from this measure it took its name, and was called the stadium, whatever might be its extent. This, in the language of Paul, speaking of the Christian's course, was "the race which was set before them," determined by public authority and carefully measured. On each side of the stadium and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated, an innumerable multitude collected from all parts of Greece, to which the apostle thus alludes in his figurative description of the Christian life: "Seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight."<sup>q</sup>

The most remarkable parts of the stadium, were its entrance, middle, and extremity. The entrance was marked at first, only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To prevent any unfair advantage being taken by the more vigilant or alert candidates, a cord was at length stretched in front of the horses or men, that were to run; and sometimes the space was railed in with wood. The opening of this barrier, was the signal for the racers to start. The middle of the stadium was remarkable, only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. From this custom, Chrysostom draws a fine comparison: "As the judges,

<sup>p</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 441, 442.

<sup>q</sup> Heb. xii, 1.

in the races and other games; expose in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they were to receive; in like manner, the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them."

At the extremity of the stadium, was a goal, where the foot races ended; but in those of chariots and horses, they were to run several times round it without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race, by regaining the other extremity of the lists from whence they started. It is therefore to the foot race the apostle alludes, when he speaks of the race set before the Christian, which was a straight course, to be run only once, and not as in the other, several times without stopping.

According to some writers, it was at the goal, and not in the middle of the course, that the prizes were exhibited; and they were placed in a very conspicuous situation, that the competitors might be animated by having them always in their sight. This accords with the view which the apostle gives of the Christian life: "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high-calling of God in Christ Jesus."<sup>r</sup> L'Enfant thinks, the apostle here compares our Lord to those who stood at the elevated place at the end of the course, calling the racers by their names, and encouraging them by holding out the crown, to exert themselves with vigour.\*

Within the measured and determinate limits of the stadium, the athlete were bound to contend for the prize,

\* Phil. iii, 14

\* Burder, vol. i, No. 551.



which they forfeited without hope of recovery, if they deviated ever so little from the appointed course. In allusion to this inviolable arrangement, the apostle tells the Corinthians: "We will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you. For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as unto you also, in preaching the gospel of Christ."<sup>1</sup> It may help very much to understand this and the following verses, if, with Hammond, we consider the terms used in them as *agonistical*. In this view of them, the measure of the rule, (*το μετρον το κανονος*), alludes to the path marked out, and bounded by a white line, for racers in the Isthmian games, celebrated among the Corinthians; and so the apostle represents his works in preaching the gospel as his spiritual race, and the province to which he was appointed as the compass or stage of ground, which God had distributed or measured out, (*μετρον αυτου*), for him to run in. Accordingly, "to boast without his measure," (ver. 15, *ως τα αμετρα*), and to stretch himself beyond his measure, (*υπερ εκλινεσθαι*), refer to one that ran beyond or out of his line. "We are come as far as to you," (ver. 14, *ωχρι υμων εφθασαμεν*), alludes to him that came foremost to the goal; and "in another man's line," (ver. 16, *ωσ αλλοτριω κανονι*), signifies in the province that was marked out for somebody else, in allusion to the line by which the race was bounded, each of the racers having the path which he ought to run chalked out to him, and if one stepped over into the other's path, he extended himself over his line."<sup>2</sup>

The chariot races were the most renowned of all the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Burder's Orient. Cust. No. 529.

exercises used in the games of the ancients; and those from which the victors derived the greatest honour; but the writer can find only one or two allusions to them in the sacred volume, and those involved in some uncertainty. One occurs in Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, where he informs them of his great success in collecting a church at Ephesus: "But I will tarry at Ephesus until pentecost; for a great door, and effectual, is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries."<sup>v</sup> The inspired writer, it is thought, alludes here to the door of the circus, which was opened to let out the chariots when the races were to begin; and by the word *ἀνταγωνισταί*, which is translated *adversaries*, but which Doddridge renders *opponents*; means the same with antagonists, with whom he was to contend as in a course. This opposition rendered his presence more necessary to preserve those that were already converted, and to increase the number, if God should bless his ministry. Accordingly a celebrated church was planted at Ephesus; and so far as we can learn from the tenor of his epistle, there was less to reprove and correct among them than in most of the other churches to which he wrote."

The other allusion occurs in his second epistle to the Thessalonians: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you."<sup>x</sup> Some think these words allude to the applauses given to those who made a speedy progress in the races, which constituted so important a part of the Grecian games.

The honours and rewards granted to the victors were

<sup>v</sup> 1 Cor. xvi, 9.

<sup>x</sup> Burder's Orient. Cust. vol. i, No. 525.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Thea. iii, 1.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. No. 554.

of several kinds. They were animated in their course by the rapturous applauses of the countless multitudes that lined the stadium, and waited the issue of the contest with eager anxiety ; and their success was instantly followed by reiterated and long continued plaudits ; but these were only a prelude to the appointed rewards, which, though of little value in themselves, were accounted the highest honour to which a mortal could aspire. These consisted of different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. After the judges had passed sentence, a public herald proclaimed the name of the victor ; one of the judges put the crown upon his head, and a branch of palm into his right hand, which he carried as a token of victorious courage and perseverance. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.\*

When the victor had received his reward, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country ; while the delighted multitudes, at the sight of him, redoubled their acclamations and applauses.

The crown, in the Olympic games, was of wild olive ; in the Pythian, of laurel ; in the Isthmian or Corinthian, of pine tree ; and in the Nemæan, of smallage or parsley. Now, most of these were evergreens ; yet they would soon grow dry, and crumble into dust. Elsnor produces many passages, in which the contenders in these exercises are rallied by the Grecian wits, on account of the extraordinary pains they took for such trifling rewards ; and Plato has a celebrated passage, which greatly resembles that

\* Potter's *Grecian Antiq.* vol. i, p. 445, *et seq.*

of the apostle, but by no means equals it in force and beauty: "Now they do it, to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an uncorruptible." The Christian is called to fight the good fight of faith, and to lay hold of eternal life; and to this he is more powerfully stimulated by considering that the ancient *athletæ* took all their care and pains only for the sake of obtaining a garland of flowers, or a wreath of laurel, which quickly fades and perishes, possesses little intrinsic value, and only serves to nourish their pride and vanity, without imparting any solid advantage to themselves or others; but that which is placed in the view of the spiritual combatants, to animate their exertions, and reward their labours, is no less than a crown of glory which never decays; "a crown of infinite worth and duration; an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for them."<sup>a</sup> More than conquerors through him that loved them, and washed from their sins in his own blood; they, too, carry palms in their right hands, the appropriate emblems of victory, hardly contested, and fairly won. "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, and palms in their hands."<sup>b</sup>

But the victory sometimes remained doubtful, in consequence of which a number of competitors appeared before the judges, and claimed the prize; and sometimes a combatant, by dishonourable management, endeavoured to gain the victory.<sup>c</sup> The candidates, who were rejected on such occasions by the judge of the games, as not having fairly merited the prize, were called by the Greeks *adoxipisti*,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Peter i, 4; and v, 4.

<sup>b</sup> Rev. vii, 9.

<sup>c</sup> Æneid. lib. v, l. 350.

or disapproved, and which we render *cast away*, in a passage already quoted from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be (*αδοξίμος*) cast away," rejected by the Judge of all the earth, and disappointed of my expected crown.

## CHAP. XII.

### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS.

*Patriarchal warfare.*—In Israel every man, from twenty years old and upwards, by law, a soldier.—Chosen from the whole body of the people.—Nearly the same forms used by the Greeks and Romans.—Armies extremely numerous.—Soldiers compose but a small part of Asiatic armies.—Training of the troops.—Alarm of war given by the voice of a herald, or by raising a standard.—Division of the Roman armies.—Division of the Hebrew armies.—Served without pay.—Foreigners admitted to serve.—At first all footmen.—Eastern cavalry.—Furniture of the war-horses.—Bells of the horses.—Chariots of war.—Armour.—Defensive armour.—Offensive armour.—Armour-bearer.—Engines.—The Cherethites and Pelethites.—Officers of the army.—Stratagems of war.—Ambassadors sent to the state that had given offence, before the commencement of hostilities.—Solemn devotions performed before they took the field.—Public sacrifices.—Hebrew camp.—Standards of the tribes.—Standard-bearer.

THE ancient Hebrews, like the nations around them, were wholly unacquainted with the refinements of modern warfare. From the age of Abraham, the renowned father of their tribes, they had little other business to employ their

leisure hours, but feeding their flocks and herds, or tilling a few acres of land in the districts which they visited, except in Egypt, where their severe bondage was still more unfavourable to the cultivation of military habits. In such circumstances, the defence of their flocks and their herds from the violence of roving hordes, which occasionally scoured the county in quest of spoil, generally produced the only wars in which they engaged. The rapid history of the patriarchs records a sufficient number of incidents, to shew, that how rude and unpolished soever they may be deemed, they were by no means deficient in personal courage; and in the expedition of Abraham against the confederate kings, we can discern the rudiments of that military conduct, which has so often since his time, filled the world with admiration or dismay. It will be readily admitted, that when the chosen people went up out of Egypt, where they had been long and cruelly oppressed, and in consequence of their miseries, had contracted the abject and cowardly dispositions of the slave, they were quite incapable of warlike enterprises; but when their minds recovered the vigour and elevation which the freedom and hardships of the wilderness inspired, they discovered on many trying occasions, a boldness and resolution which were never surpassed by any of their antagonists. Till the reign of David, the armies of Israel were no better than a raw and undisciplined militia; and the simplicity of their behaviour sufficiently appears from the story of Goliath, who defied all the warriors that fought under the banners of Saul; and with a haughty look, and a few arrogant words, struck them with so great a terror that they fled before him. But the troops of the surrounding kingdoms were neither more courageous nor

more skilful in the use of arms, which is evident from the history of David's captains, the first of whom engaged single handed, three hundred men, and slew them at one time. And this is not the only instance of such daring and successful valour; he was one of three warriors who defended a plot of barley, after the people had fled, against the whole force of the Philistines, whom they routed with prodigious slaughter, after a desperate conflict.\* Nor is the sacred historian justly chargeable with transgressing the rules of probability in such relations, which, however strange and incredible they may appear to us, exactly accorded with the manners of the times in which he wrote. Homer often introduces Achilles, Hector, and other heroes engaging, and by the valour of their own arm putting to flight, whole squadrons of their enemies. Such feats are by no means uncommon in the history of rude and unpolished nations, who, in the revolution of a few ages, became not less celebrated for their steady and disciplined heroism in the field, than for the sagacity of their measures in the cabinet. Under the banners of David, a prince of a truly heroic mind, the tribes of Israel often put to flight vast numbers of their enemies, and became a terror to all the circumjacent kingdoms.

Every man in Israel, from twenty years old and upwards, was by law a soldier, the priests and Levites not excepted. Benaiah the priest, son of Jehoiada, was one of the most renowned captains in the armies of David, and commander in chief of Solomon's troops, in the room of Joab. The armies of Israel were in fact a body of militia: and like the same kind of troops in some other countries, they were ready to assemble at the first notice.

\* 1 Chron. xi, 14.

At the age of fifty they might demand their discharge; or if they preferred it, they might continue in arms.

In Greece too, the armies consisted for the most part of free citizens, whom the laws of their country obliged to appear in arms, when they arrived at a certain age, on the summons of a magistrate or commissioned officer. In Athens, as in Palestine, the youth were not led to the field till they had attained the age of twenty, though they were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it, at eighteen years of age. But they were not permitted to retire from the service till they had completed their sixtieth year.<sup>b</sup>

The Jews never spake of levying troops, but of choosing them; because all the males, from twenty years old and upwards, being liable to serve, they had always a great many more than they wanted. In allusion to the general muster of the people, and the selection of a certain number for the service of their country, our Lord observes, "Many are called, but few are chosen."<sup>c</sup> The great mass of the people were called together by sound of trumpet, and on passing in review before the officers, those were chosen who were deemed most fit for service. This is the reason, the Hebrews usually called their soldiers young men, and *bahurim*, chosen. But no man, who felt a disposition to serve his country, was rejected; though an Israelite was not chosen, he might volunteer his services, and was then enrolled.

Nearly the same forms were used by the Romans during the republic. The consuls, after they were entered on their office, appointed a day when all those who were of the military age were summoned to appear in the capi-

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq., vol. ii, p. 1, 2.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. xx, 16.



tol. On the day appointed, the consuls, assisted by the military or legionary tribunes, held a levy, when they ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty.<sup>d</sup>

The armies of Israel were often extremely numerous. Six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, marched out of Egypt to take possession of Canaan, the inheritance promised to their fathers; and after their establishment in that country, such immense masses of men appeared in the field, as fill the inquirer with equal surprise and hesitation. Unable to conceive how the narrow limits assigned to the twelve tribes, could furnish such powerful armies; some have questioned the purity of the text, and others have denied its inspiration altogether. It is readily granted, that the statement of numbers in all ancient records, is liable to great and important errors, especially when they are expressed by letters, as in Hebrew, many of which nearly resemble one another. But while this is admitted, still a variety of circumstances present themselves to the notice of a candid mind, which render the gross amount of the numbers given in the sacred page not only possible, but actually entitled to credit. In judging of this question, it is unfair to apply the usual proportion of fighting men to the mass of the population in modern Europe; for the cases are quite dissimilar. It is equally unfair to overlook the extraordinary fruitfulness of Canaan; its minute division among the tribes; the frugal habits of the people, and the peculiar composition of an Asiatic army, in which it is computed, that every soldier has commonly ten or twelve followers, and

<sup>d</sup> Adams' Roman Antiquities, p. 368.

often many more. The soil of Canaan, throughout its whole extent, swarmed with a hardy race of cultivators, all of whom, from twenty years old and upwards, were enrolled and liable to be called out to war. Numerous as their levies were, they did not exceed those of Xerxes, Darius, and other eastern monarchs. But as the accounts of these are supposed to be justly liable to suspicion, let us turn to the authentic page of Knolles, and from his "History of the Turks" state the numbers in the contending armies of Bajazet and Tamerlane. The army of the Tartar chief consisted, by the testimony of that historian, of "*four hundred thousand horse, and six hundred thousand foot* ; or, as some others that were there present affirm, *three hundred thousand horsemen and five hundred thousand foot, of all nations.*" To arrest his progress, Bajazet assembled an army of *three hundred thousand men*, or, as some report, of *three hundred thousand horsemen and two hundred thousand foot.*<sup>e</sup> The contending armies, in the late destructive war, were said at one time to be nearly as numerous.<sup>f</sup>

These were indeed mighty empires, which may well be supposed to raise forces, to which the small state of Judea was incompetent. But if the Jewish armies were composed like those of their neighbours, which cannot be reasonably doubted, the competency of that small kingdom to send such a force into the field, is by no means incredible. The justness of this remark will appear from the statement of Baron du Tott, in relation to the armies raised by the Cham of Crim Tartary.

"It may be presumed," says he, "that the rustic frugal life which these pastoral people lead, favours popu-

<sup>e</sup> Knolles' Hist. of the Turks, abridged by Savage, vol. i, p. 142, 143.

<sup>f</sup> The war of the French Revolution.

lation ; while the wants and excesses of luxury, among polished nations, strike at its very foot. In fact, it is observed that the people are less numerous under the roofs of the Crimea and the province of Boodjack, than in the tents of the Noguais. The best calculation we can make, is from a view of the military forces which the cham is able to assemble. We shall soon see this prince raising *three* armies at the same time ; one of *a hundred thousand men*, which he commanded in person ; another of *sixty thousand*, commanded by the calga ; and a third of *forty thousand*, by the nooradin. He had the power of raising *double the number*, without prejudice to the necessary labours of the state.”<sup>f</sup>

To this important account may be added the following observations from Volney’s Travels. “ *Sixty thousand men* with them, are very from being synonymous with *sixty thousand* soldiers, as in our armies. That of which we are now speaking, affords a proof of this ; it might amount in fact to forty thousand men, which may be classed as follows : Five thousand Mamlouk cavalry, *which was the whole effective army* ; about fifteen hundred Barbary Arabs, on foot, and no other infantry, for the Turks are acquainted with none ; with them the cavalry is every thing. Besides these, each Mamlouk having in his suit, *two* footmen, *armed with staves*, these would form a body of ten thousand valets, besides a number of servants and *serradgis*, or attendants on horseback, for the bey and kachefs, which may be estimated at two thousand ; all the rest were sutlers and the usual train of followers. Such was this army, as described to me in Palestine, by persons who had seen and followed it.”<sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Du Tott’s Memoir, vol. i, p. 113.

<sup>g</sup> Volney’s Travels, vol. i, p. 124.

“ The Asiatic armies are mobs, their marches ravages, their campaigns mere inroads, and their battles bloody frays. The strongest or the most adventurous party goes in search of the other, which not unfrequently flies without offering resistance. If they stand their ground, they engage pell-mell, discharge their carbines, break their spears, and hack each other with their sabres: for they rarely have any cannon; and when they have, they are but of little service. *A panic frequently diffuses itself without cause*; one party flies; the other pursues and shouts victory; the vanquished submits to the will of the conqueror, and the campaign often terminates without a battle.”<sup>h</sup>

These extracts clearly prove, that the soldiers compose but a very small part of an Asiatic army. “ In fact,” says Calmet, “ when we deduct those whose attendance is of little advantage; it may be not very distant from truth, if we say nine out of ten are such as in Europe would be forbid the army; and I would not absolutely despise the suggestion, that when we read 40 instead of 400, the true fighting corps of soldiers only are reckoned and stated. However that may be, I think we have seen enough to justify the possibility of such numbers as the Scripture hath recorded, being assembled for the purposes of warfare; of which purposes plunder is not one of the least in the opinion of those who usually follow a camp. I think too, we may be pretty certain, that no conclusive estimate of the population of a kingdom can be drawn from such assemblages, under such circumstances; and therefore, that no calculation ought to be hazarded on such imperfect *data*.”<sup>i</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Volney's Trav. vol. i, p. 126.

<sup>i</sup> Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

When the muster was completed, the troops were trained to the use of arms, by officers skilled in the art of war. The military exercises of the Hebrews resembled those of other nations around them. Swiftmess of foot was highly valued, as it gave the warrior a great advantage over his slower and more unwieldy antagonist. It is accordingly mentioned to the honour of Asahel, one of David's captains, that he was swifter of foot than a wild roe; and the sweet singer of Israel, in his poetical lamentation over those two great captains, Saul and Jonathan, takes particular notice of this warlike quality: "They were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions." Nor were the ancient Greeks less attentive to a qualification which the state of the military art in those days rendered so valuable. The foot races in the Olympic games were instituted by warlike chieftains, for the very purpose of enuring their subjects to the fatigues of war, and particularly of increasing their speed, which was regarded as an excellent qualification in a warrior, both because it served for a sudden attack and a nimble retreat. Homer, fully aware of its value in ancient warfare, says, that swiftmess of foot is one of the most excellent endowments with which a man can be favoured:

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μίζουσ' κλισίῃσιν ὄφρα κινῆσιν

Ἡ δ', ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ χερσὶν ἔστιν. *Odyss. lib. viii, l. 147.*<sup>1</sup>

To invigorate the frame, on the strength and firmness of which the victory almost entirely depended in primitive times, the Hebrew captains are said to have exercised their soldiers in lifting great weights. After the defeat of Saul, which seems to have been chiefly effected by the

<sup>1</sup> See also *Iliad. lib. x, l. 356. Odyssey, lib. iii, l. 112. Ἀντιλόχῳ περὶ μὲν θύμῃσιν ταχέος, καὶ μαχητήσιν.*

skill and valour of the enemy's archers, David commanded his officers to instruct their troops in the use of the bow, which, though employed by the Hebrew warriors from the earliest times, appears to have been rather neglected till that terrible catastrophe taught them the necessity of forming a body of skilful archers, which might enable them to meet their enemies in the field on equal terms. The Hebrew youth were also taught to hurl the javelin, to handle the spear, and to use the sling, in which many of them greatly excelled.

The alarm of war was given by the voice of a herald, or by a standard raised on the top of the highest mountain, to which was sometimes added the martial sound of the trumpet. Saul probably adopted the first method to assemble his troops, in order to repel the incursion of the Philistines, soon after his accession to the throne; for it is written, "The people were called together after Saul, to Gilgal."<sup>k</sup> The prophet Isaiah, in one of his predictions, alludes both to the voice of the herald and the raising of the standard: "Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand, that they may go unto the gates of the nobles."<sup>l</sup> But when Gideon was called from the thrashing floor, to lead the armies of Israel against the countless swarms which marched under the banners of Midian, it is said, "the spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he blew a trumpet, and Abiezer was gathered after him."<sup>m</sup> But as this signal could be heard only by a few, he sent messengers through all Manasseh, Asher, Zebulon, and Naphthali, who immediately joined his standard. The trumpet was used by many nations to gather the soldiers together,

<sup>k</sup> 1 Sam. xiii, 5.

<sup>l</sup> Isa. xiii, 2.

<sup>m</sup> Judg. vi, 34.

prepare them for the battle, give them notice of its commencement, and animate them to the fight. For these reasons, that instrument is called by Jeremiah, "The alarm of war."<sup>a</sup>

As among the Romans, the soldiers were divided into legions, cohorts, and companies of an hundred men; so were the Hebrew warriors distributed into troops of a thousand, five hundred, an hundred, fifty, and ten men, each commanded by their proper officer. The whole army was commanded by the king in person, or by a general officer bearing his commission.

In the early periods of the Jewish commonwealth, the soldiers served without pay. The Grecian soldiers too, were all maintained at their own expense; no name was more opprobrious than that of a mercenary, it being considered as a disgrace for any person of ingenuous birth and education to serve for pay. The Carians were the first who introduced the custom of serving for hire, which was considered so infamous, that all the writers of those times represent them as a base and servile people; the very name of Carian became synonymous with slave. But in a few ages, this custom, so far from being regarded as unworthy of their birth and education, was practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, who not only received pay for serving their own country, but also enlisted under the banners of foreign kings, and fought their battles for hire; their kings and chief magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such expeditions.<sup>o</sup>

Foreigners resident in the country were permitted to serve in the Jewish armies, and they sometimes rose to a very high rank; for both Urijah and Ittai, who seemed

<sup>a</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 69.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

to have held principal commands in the armies of David, were aboriginal Canaanites. But in succeeding ages, the kings of Judah, affecting to imitate the policy of the surrounding potentates, or distrusting the omnipotent protection of Jehovah, occasionally hired large bodies of foreign troops to fight their battles, who, like mercenaries of later times, after expelling the invaders, sometimes turned their arms against their employers, and ravaged the country which they came to protect.

In the first periods of the Jewish history, the armies of Israel consisted all of footmen. At length Solomon raised a body of twelve thousand horse, and fourteen hundred chariots, some with two, and others with four horses; but whether that magnificent prince intended them for pomp or war, is uncertain. Infantry was also the chief strength of the Greek and Roman armies.<sup>p</sup> Cavalry is not so necessary in warm climates, where the march of troops is less incommoded with bad roads; nor can they be of so much use in mountainous countries, where their movements are attended with great difficulty and hazard. The eastern potentates, however, brought immense numbers of horse into the field, and chiefly trusted to their exertions for defence or conquest. The people of Israel, who were appointed to "dwell alone," and not to mingle with the nations around them, nor imitate their policy, were expressly forbidden to maintain large bodies of cavalry; and they accordingly prospered, or were defeated, as they obeyed or transgressed this divine command; which a celebrated author observes, cannot be justified by the measures of human prudence. Even upon political reasons, says Warburton, the Jews might be justified in the disuse of cavalry, in the defence of their country, but not in con-

<sup>p</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 9, 10.



quering it from a warlike people, who abounded in horses. Here at least, the exertion of an extraordinary providence was wonderfully conspicuous. The kings who succeeded Solomon, certainly raised a body of horse for the defence of their dominions, which they recruited from the studs of Egypt, in those times equally remarkable for their vigour and beauty. But the Jewish cavalry were seldom very numerous; and under the religious kings of David's line, who made the divine law the rule of their policy, they were either disembodied altogether, or reduced to a very small number. In the reign of Hezekiah, when the country was invaded by the king of Assyria, the Jews seem to have had no force of this kind, for, said Rabshakeh, "Now, therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord, the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."<sup>q</sup>

In the primitive ages, the warrior managed his charger with a rope or switch, and the accent of his voice; for the bridle was the invention of a more polished age. This was the practice of the Greeks, and of several other nations. To these the bridle succeeded, of which the most remarkable were those called *lupata*, having bits of iron, somewhat resembling wolves' teeth. Harness, which Pliny attributes to the inventor of bridles,<sup>r</sup> and which probably came into fashion about the same time, was made of different materials, as leather, cloth, or the skin of wild beasts. Parthenopæus covered his horse with the skin of a lynx; and Æneas, with that of a lion. Sometimes they adorned them with rich and costly trappings;<sup>s</sup> and put bells about their necks and on their legs.

<sup>q</sup> 2 Kings xviii, 23.

<sup>r</sup> Nat. Hist. lib. vii, cap. 56.

<sup>s</sup> Æneid. lib. vii, l. 275. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 11.

Mr. Harmer says, he has not met with any account of horses decked after this manner in the east ; but the fact is expressly stated by Major Rooke, in his travels to the coast of Arabia Felix. When he was at Mocha, the Turkish cavalry had a field day in the great square, which from the mode of exercise, called to his mind the idea of our ancient tilts and tournaments. The horses were sumptuously caparisoned, being adorned with gold and silver trappings, bells hung round their necks, and rich housings. The riders were in handsome Turkish dresses, with white turbans, and the whole formed to the major a new and pleasing spectacle. This custom obtained in Greece, as is evident from Aristophanes, who calls the artificers that joined the bells to the furniture of the war horses, *καὶ δ' ἀνοφεὰ κρεπνύλοι.*<sup>u</sup> Mr. Burder traces this custom to the idolatrous veneration which the heathens of the east entertained for the sun, whom they called Baal or Bel, from his supposed dominion over all things ; whence the word came at last to denote a lord, or master in general. He was considered as the author of vibratory motion, the source of musical sound ; and such instruments as emit a sound by percussion are called bells, from Bell or Bel, the name by which the sun was denoted among the Druids.

For the same reason, a bell seems in very early times to have been made a sign or symbol of victory or dominion. Thus, as horses were employed in war, and are celebrated in the earliest ages for their strength, stately port, and undaunted courage, bells became a part of their martial furniture. The Jewish warrior adorned his charger with the same ornaments which the prophet foretels should in

<sup>u</sup> Trav. p. 82.

<sup>v</sup> Lib. 994.

<sup>v</sup> Burder, No. 1160. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 18.

future times be consecrated to the service of God : "In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord."<sup>w</sup> Chardin observes that something like this is seen in several places of the east ; in Persia, and in Turkey, the reins are of silk, of the thickness of a finger, on which are wrought the name of God, or other inscriptions.<sup>x</sup>

The warriors of primitive times were carried to the field in chariots, drawn for the most part by two horses. The custom of riding and fighting upon horses, was not introduced into Greece, and the regions of Asia bordering on the Hellespont, till some time after the Trojan war ; for Homer, whose authority in such cases is indisputable, always conducts his heroes to battle in chariots, never on horseback. In what age the chariot was first used in battle cannot now be ascertained ; but by the help of the sacred volume, we can trace the practice to a very remote antiquity, for the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan, appear, from the number of armed chariots which they possessed, when Joshua invaded their country, to have been trained to that mode of warfare long before. "And the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us ; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Bethshean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel."<sup>y</sup> This by no means intimates, that the chariots were made of iron, but only that they were armed with it. Such chariots were by the ancients called *currus falcati*, and in Greek ἀγροεμφυλαί. They had a kind of scythes, of about

<sup>w</sup> Zech. xiv, 20.

<sup>x</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 277. See also Xen. Anab. lib. i, cap. 8, sec. 10.

<sup>y</sup> Josh. xviii, 16.

two cubits long, fastened to long axle trees on both wheels; these being driven swiftly through a body of men, made great slaughter, mowing them down like grass or corn.<sup>7</sup> The efficacious resistance which the Canaanites from their chariots of iron, opposed to the arms of Israel, is emphatically marked by the sacred historian: "And the Lord was with Judah, and they drave out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron."<sup>8</sup> The native princess of Canaan, fully aware of the great advantages to be derived from this species of force, in combating the armies of Israel, which consisted, as has been already observed, entirely of infantry, continued to improve it with a care and diligence proportioned to its importance. In the time of the judges, not long after the death of Joshua, Jabin the king of Canaan, sent nine hundred chariots of iron into the field against the people of Israel;<sup>9</sup> and in a succeeding war, between this people and their inveterate enemies the Philistines, the latter met them in the field with "thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore for multitude."<sup>10</sup>

The chariots of princes and heroes were contrived both for service and ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals. Homer adorned the chariot of Rhesus with a profusion of gold and silver:

Ἀγλαὰ δὲ ἱ χροὸν το καὶ ἀργυρὸν ἐν πεντηκῇ. *Il. lib. x, l. 438.*

"The chariot of Diomed he ornamented with gold and tin."

Ἀγλαὰ δὲ χροὸν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ, πεντηκῇ.

<sup>7</sup> Burder, No. 765. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 13, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. i, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. iv, 19.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. xiii, 5.

“ And furnished Lycaon’s chariot with splendid curtains, expanded like the wings of a bird.”<sup>c</sup> The chariots of Solomon, by far the richest and most magnificent sovereign of his time, were certainly finished in a style of elegance corresponding with the wealth and taste of the royal owner. It is in allusion to these, that the mystical chariot of the everlasting gospel is thus described ; “ King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem.”<sup>d</sup>

The Scriptures furnish us with very little information relating to the military evolutions of the Hebrews, the form of their battalions, or the general order of battle, although they frequently speak of troops in battle array. The manner of their encamping, and the order of their march in the wilderness, are minutely described by Moses, and furnish a noble example of military arrangement. The number of this prodigious multitude was known by exact lists ; each man was set down in his tribe ; each tribe in its quarter under one of the four divisions, according to the order of birth-right among the patriarchs, and the quality of their mothers. They marched by sound of trumpet, always in the same order ; and always quartered in the same situation about the tabernacle of the covenant, which was the centre of the camp. When the first alarm was given by sound of trumpet, the camps on the east side struck their tents and commenced their march : when the second alarm was given, the camps on the south side took their journey ; every division moved in its turn by the mandate of God to his servant Moses. Every tribe

<sup>c</sup> *Iliad*. lib. xiii et lib. xv.

<sup>d</sup> *Song* iii, 9, 10.

was placed under the command of its own prince; and followed its own standard, which was carried by a standard-bearer at the head of the column. "In the first place went the camp of the children of Judah according to their armies, and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab," and in their rear, the hosts of Issachar and Zebulon. "Then the tabernacle was taken down, and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, set forward bearing the tabernacle." Then the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward, followed by the hosts of Simeon and Gad, under their respective princes. Then the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary; and the bearers of the tabernacle set it up in their next encampment, by the time they arrived. Then the armies of Ephraim, followed by those of Manasseh and Benjamin, began their march. Then the standard of Dan set forward, followed by the hosts of Asher and Naphtali, bringing up the rear of all the tribes.<sup>d</sup> Every station, and movement, and time of marching, was fixed by express command; and, in this admirable order, that immense multitude traversed the desert forty years, without the least confusion or inconvenience, from the countless numbers which crowded their camps. From this account, it will be evident, that the way of encamping, and every thing else that we admire with so much reason in the Greeks and Romans, was taken from the ancient models of the orientals, and particularly from the divinely appointed arrangements of the ancient Hebrews.

In the primitive ages, the arms of the warrior were made of brass, which seems to have been the only metal with which they were acquainted.<sup>e</sup> This important fact

<sup>d</sup> Numb. x, 14, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 20.

is attested by Homer, who has been followed in this particular by all the writers of antiquity who give an account of those times. In the *Iliad*, the battle axe was made of brass, and highly polished;<sup>f</sup> the arrow was headed with brass;<sup>g</sup> the coat of mail was composed of brass;<sup>h</sup> the spear was made of brass;<sup>i</sup> in fine, the warrior is represented as sheathed in dazzling brass.<sup>j</sup> Plutarch states, that when Cimon the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him, a sword of brass, and a spear with a head of the same metal.<sup>k</sup> But it is unnecessary to multiply examples, since we are expressly told by Hesiod, that in those ages, iron was unknown; but their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses were made of brass:

Τῶν δ' αὖ χαλκῶν μὲν τεύχεα, χαλκῶν δὲ τὶ αἶμα;

Χαλκῶν δ' οὐραζέοντο, μέλλας δ' αὖτε ἰσὺς εὐθιγέας.<sup>l</sup>

In Virgil, the whole field of battle gleamed with brass:

— "ac late fluctuant omnis

Aere resindent tellus."

*Geor.* ii, l. 280.

The armour of the Asiatic nations was made of this metal, or profusely adorned with it, and polished into dazzling brightness, to strike their enemies with terror.<sup>m</sup> The gigantic champion of the Philistines had an helmet of brass upon his head; and was armed with a coat of mail of the same metal: "The weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his

<sup>f</sup> Lib. xiii, l. 612.    <sup>g</sup> L. 650.    <sup>h</sup> Lib. i, l. 371.    <sup>i</sup> Lib. iii, l. 470, 482.

<sup>j</sup> Lib. ii, l. 578.

<sup>k</sup> Langhorne's *Plut.* vol. i, p. 39, 40.

<sup>l</sup> *Opera et Dica.* l. 150, 256. *Scutum Herouli*, l. 221.

<sup>m</sup> The Massagetae, a people on the confines of India, if not in reality Indians, had their axes, hatchets, spears, and even their horse-accountrements, of the same metal. Herodotus, lib. i, p. 215. See also Maurice's *Indian Antig.* vol. vii, p. 478-489.

legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders." But in those early times, the arts were more advanced in Canaan and other nations of Asia than in Greece, as they had discovered the method of smelting iron, and begun to employ it in the fabrication of arms in the time of Goliath, for his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron.\*

The arms of the Hebrew soldiers are distinguished into two sorts; some of them being contrived for their own defence, others to annoy their enemies. On this subject Dr. Potter remarks; "The primitive Grecians, we are told, were better furnished with the former, whereas the barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter; the generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their enemies, while the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the dictates of human nature, to study how to preserve their friends; for which reason, Homer always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant heroes well armed into the battle, and the Grecian lawgivers decreed punishments for those that threw away their shields, but excused those that lost their swords or spears; intimating hereby, that their soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their enemies."<sup>o</sup> These sentiments, however, were not, as this learned author supposes, peculiar to the Greeks; they seem, in reality, to have been derived from the oriental nations, for Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, was covered with defensive armour, while he had only two offensive weapons, a sword by his side, and a spear in his hand; and not satisfied with what he carried himself, he had one bearing a shield who

\* 1 Sam. xvii, 7.—Often adorned with brass. Opera et Dies. l. 423.— Sometimes their arms were made of gold, or richly ornamented with that metal. Ibid. l. 182.      ° Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 23.



went before him. The Hebrews were not less attentive to the personal safety of their warriors, for when Saul accepted of David's generous offer, to enter the lists with the formidable Philistine, he clothed him "with his armour; and he put an helmet of brass upon his head; also, he armed him with a coat of mail. And David girded his sword upon his armour, and he assayed to go."<sup>p</sup> And although no censure was pronounced, and no punishment decreed in the law of Moses, against those warriors that threw away their shields, yet, the loss of them was lamented by the Hebrew bard as a public dishonour.

The first piece of defensive armour entitled to our notice, is the helmet, which protected the head. This has been used from the remotest ages by almost every nation of a martial spirit. The champion of the Philistines had a helmet of brass upon his head, as had also the king of Israel, who commanded the armies of the living God. This martial cap was also worn by the Persians and Ethiopians in the day of battle. The Grecian helmets were very often made of the skins of beasts;<sup>q</sup> but the helmet of the Jewish warrior seems to have been uniformly made of brass or iron; and to this sort of casque only, the sacred writer seems to refer. In allusion to this piece of defensive armour, Paul directs the believer to put on for an helmet the hope of salvation,<sup>r</sup> which secures the head in every contest, till, through him that loved him, he gain a complete victory over all his enemies. That well-grounded hope of eternal life which is attended with ineffable satisfaction, and never disappoints the soul; like an helmet of brass, shall guard it against fear and danger, enable it pa-

<sup>p</sup> 1 Sam. xviii, 38.

<sup>r</sup> Eph. vi, 17; and 1 Thea. v, 8.

<sup>q</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 23. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 367.

tiently to endure every hardship, and fortify it against the most furious and threatening attacks of Satan and all his confederates. Such adversaries, this solid hope is not less calculated to strike with dismay, than was the helmet of an ancient warrior in the day of battle his mortal foes, by its dazzling brightness, its horrific devices of Gorgons and Chimæras, and its nodding plumes which overlooked the dreadful cone.<sup>p</sup>

Another piece of defensive armour used in those early times, was the breastplate or corslet :<sup>q</sup> with this Goliath was accoutred ; but in our version the original term is rendered a coat of mail ; and in the inspired account of the Jewish armour, it is translated habergeon. It was between the joints of this harness (for so we render it in that passage) that Ahab received his mortal wound by an arrow shot at a venture.<sup>r</sup> To this species of armour the prophet Isaiah alludes, where the same Hebrew word is used as in the preceding texts, but is here rendered breastplate ;<sup>s</sup> and in the prophecies of Jeremiah it is translated brigandine.<sup>t</sup> From the use of these various terms, in translating the Hebrew term (שִׁרְיוֹן) shirion, it seems to have covered both the back and breast of the warrior, but was probably intended chiefly for the defence of the latter; and, by consequence, took its name from that circumstance.

The corslet was made of flax or of wool woven very thick ; of ox hide, of brass, or of iron. The metallic corslet consisted not of one solid piece, but of scales, hooks, or rings, connected like the links of a chain, that the warrior might move in it with greater ease. The sides of it

<sup>p</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 26.

<sup>r</sup> 1 Kings xxii, 34.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

<sup>s</sup> Is. lix, 17.

<sup>t</sup> Jer. xlv, 4.

were coupled together with a sort of buttons, in the same manner as the Roman lorica, which it nearly resembled.\* This piece of defensive armour Saul wore for the security of his person in the day of battle; but it was not proof against the missile weapons of his enemies, for in his last engagement with the Philistines, he fell pierced by their arrows, through the rings of which his coat of mail was composed.

The breastplate is frequently mentioned in the sacred volume. It was properly a half corselet, defending the breast, as its name imports, but leaving the back exposed to the enemy. Breastplates were not always formed of the same materials; some were made of line or hemp twisted into small cords, and close set together; but these were more frequently used in hunting than in war. The most approved breastplates were made of brass, iron, or other metals, which were sometimes so admirably hardened as to resist the greatest force. Plutarch reports, that Zoi-lus, an artificer, having made a present of two iron brigandines to Demetrius Poliorcetes, for an experiment of their hardness, caused an arrow to be shot out of an engine called catapulta, placed about twenty-six paces off, which was so far from piercing the iron, that it scarcely rased or made the least impression upon it.† These facts may serve to display the inestimable value of "the breastplate of righteousness," which the apostle recommends to the hearers of the gospel; a piece of spiritual armour which the fiery darts of the devil cannot pierce. The scales of brass, which composed the breastplate of the ancient warrior, often reflected the light so as to dazzle the eyes of his antagonist, and strike him with terror.

.. \* Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 368.

† Langhorne's Plut. vol. v, p. 352.

“*Butachum thoraca induimus, senis  
Horrebat squamis.*”

“Dressed in his glittering breastplate, he appeared  
Frightful with scales of brass.”

Not less formidable to the grand adversary of our salvation are the grace, righteousness, and true holiness of the genuine believer, in the unceasing exercise of which he spends his days.

The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears and missive weapons, two or three were often placed upon one another, to render the breastplate a stronger defence. Thus Virgil,

“*Loricam coactam hauris antrorsus triliem.*” *Æn. lib. iii, l. 467.*

“The threefold coat of mail beset with hooks and gold.”

In allusion to this improved breastplate, the great apostle of the Gentiles exhorts the Thessalonians to put on the breastplate of faith and love, whose double folds are necessary to defend the vital parts of the new man against the desperate wounds with which he is threatened by his spiritual adversaries.

The military girdle was another piece of defensive armour; it surrounded the other accoutrements; the sword was suspended in it, as in modern times in the soldier's belt; and it was necessary to gird the clothes and armour of the combatant together. Thus Homer,

ἄνευ δὲ ἐς ζώνην περιβαλὼν, ἧν ἰσχυροί

Σομφα σὺ καὶ μίτηρ, ἐν χυλῶνι καμὸν ἀνδρῶν. *Iliad. lib. iv.*

“He then unbraced his rich embroidered belt,” and all his armour underneath it, which skilful smiths had fabricated.” This was so essential to a warrior, that among

† Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 28.

‡ Such also was the curiously embroidered belt of Nestor. *Il. lib. x, l. 75.*

the Greeks ζαυνοῦσθαι to gird, came to be a general name for putting on armour. Homer thus introduces Agamemnon commanding the Grecians to arm :

Ατρεΐδης δὲ βένειν, ἰδὲ ζαυνοῦσθαι ἀνὰ γυν.

*Iliad.* lib. ix.

“Atrides strait commands them all to arm, or gird themselves.” We learn from Plutarch, that the Romans had the same custom ;<sup>\*</sup> and it prevailed also among the Persians, for Herodotus relates, that Xerxes having reached Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger, λυσι τῆς ζωνῆς loosed his girdle, that is, put off his armour.<sup>†</sup> The same phrases occur in many parts of the sacred volume, the military belt being not less necessary to the Hebrew soldier, on account of his loose and flowing dress. To gird and to arm, are therefore synonymous terms in Scripture ; for those who are said to be able to put on armour, are, according to the Hebrew and Septuagint, girt with a girdle ; from whence came the expression of girding to the battle. This was the species of girdle which Jonathan bestowed on David, as one of the pledges of his entire love and friendship. He stripped himself, not only of his wearing apparel, but what a warrior valued at a much higher price, his military habiliments also, his sword, his bow, and his girdle, and gave them to David.

The girdle is mentioned by the apostle, in his particular description of the Christian armour, addressed to the church at Ephesus : “Stand therefore, having your lions girt about with truth.”<sup>‡</sup> As warriors are accustomed to gird themselves with a broad belt to keep up their long

<sup>\*</sup> Attica.

<sup>†</sup> Lib. viii, cap. 120. In Turkey, the girdle richly embroidered, fastened before with broad golden clasps, is still in use. Lady Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 197.

<sup>‡</sup> Eph. vi, 14.

garments, to bind them and their armour close together, and to fortify their loins, that they may be stronger, and more fitted for the labours and fatigues of war; so must believers encompass themselves with sincerity and uprightness of heart, and with truth and honesty of conversation, that righteousness may be the girdle of their loins, and faithfulness the girdle of their reins, that they may be steady, active, and resolute in every spiritual encounter.

The legs of the Grecian warrior were defended with greaves of brass, copper, or other metals. Potter thinks it is probable, that this piece of armour was at first either peculiar to the Grecians, or at least more generally used by them than any other nations; because we find them so perpetually called by the poet (*ἰσχυροὶ Ἀχαιοὶ*) the well-greaved Achaians.<sup>a</sup> But they seem to have been equally common among the warriors of Canaan, and other eastern countries. When Goliath appeared in complete armour, and challenged the armies of Israel to furnish a man able to contend with him in single combat, he wore greaves of brass upon his legs. This piece of armour is also recommended by the apostle, in these words: "And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."<sup>b</sup> The soldier is wont to wear greaves of brass or a sort of strong boots, to guard his feet and legs against briars and thorns, the iron spikes which the enemy scatters in his way, and the sharp pointed stones, which retard his march; so must the heart and life of the Christian be disengaged from worldly thoughts, affections, and pursuits, that would hinder him in his heavenly course; and be filled with holy resolutions, by divine grace, to hold

<sup>a</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 31. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 368.

<sup>b</sup> Eph. vi, 15.

on his way, in spite of every hardship and danger, fortified against the many snares and temptations that beset him in his progress, and prepared for the assault, from what enemy or quarter soever it may come.

The feet were protected with shoes of stout, well prepared leather, plated or spiked on the sole, to prevent the combatant from slipping. Moses seems, at least according to our translation, to have had some allusion to shoes of this kind, in his farewell address to the tribes: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, and as thy days so shall thy strength be:"<sup>c</sup> And the apostle Paul, in his description of the spiritual armour: "Having the feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace." "Not iron," says Calmet, "not steel; but patient investigation, calm inquiry, assiduous, laborious, lasting; if not rather with firm footing in the gospel of peace."

The Hebrew soldiers used two kinds of shields, the (רִצְצָא) tsinna, and the (מָגֵן) magen. From the middle of the tsinna rose a large boss, surmounted by a dagger, or sharp pointed protuberance, which was extremely useful in repelling missile weapons, and bearing down their enemies when they came to close fight. A shield of this construction was partly a defensive and partly an offensive weapon. Martial seems to allude to the tsinna in this line:

"In turham incidit, cunctos umbone repellit."

"Should you get into a crowd, your slave with his boss would repel them all."<sup>d</sup> The ancient bucklers generally covered the whole body; for Virgil represents the troops as standing close covered under their bucklers:

— "clypeique sub orbe teguntur." *Æn.* lib. ii, l. 227.

And in Tyrtæus, the mighty buckler covered the thighs, legs, and breast, belly, and shoulders too.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxxiii, 25.

<sup>d</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 33.

Μαγος ον, εναντιον τε παντι, κτιστος, και οπλις

Ανδρος ισχυρος γαστρι και ψαμμος.

The *magen* was a short buckler intended merely for defence, and of great service in the warfare of those days. To these must be added the (סיחרא) *sihara*, or round shield; and these three differed from one another, nearly as the *scutum*, *Clupeus*, and *Parma*, among the Romans. The *tsinna* was double the weight of the *magen*, and was carried by the infantry; the others, as being more light and manageable, were reserved for the cavalry. These different shields were also used by the Greeks.\*

The holy Psalmist often mentions this weapon in the songs of Zion, to signify the complete protection which he expected from above, which he so largely experienced, and in which he wholly trusted. In that sublime ode which he sung in the day that the Lord delivered him from the power of all his enemies, we find this passage: "The Lord is my buckler, and the horn of my salvation."<sup>f</sup> He had been long accustomed to contemplate the character of God under this most expressive figure; for while he wandered in exile, far from the courts of the tabernacle, where so much of his happiness was placed, we find him pouring out his soul in these strains: "Behold, O God, our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed; for the Lord God is a sun and shield; the Lord will give grace and glory; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly."<sup>g</sup> The great apostle of the Gentiles earnestly recommends this weapon among others, to the use of the churches under the present dispensation: "Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall

\* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 33-35.

<sup>f</sup> Ps. lxxiv, 8, 11.

<sup>g</sup> Eph. vi, 16.



be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.”<sup>h</sup> The shield is of primary importance in the day of battle, because it covers the whole person ; or, if too small for this, may be turned every way for the defence of one or another part of the body, and of their other accoutrements, which may be most exposed to danger, and for warding off the sharp and poisoned arrows of the enemy. In the spiritual warfare, a true and lively faith in Christ, the believer’s shield in every age ; in his blood and righteousness for every blessing of the new covenant ; in his inexhaustible fulness of grace and mercy ; and in the efficacy of his mediation in the midst of the throne, is not less necessary and important. This is the Christian’s grand defence, which enables him effectually to refute and silence every charge of guilt ; to repel every attempt of Satan to hurry him into sin ; to disarm the force of those furious temptations or sudden suggestions, that like poisoned arrows, penetrate and inflame the soul with horror, anguish, and guilt, wherever they strike. Behind the impenetrable covert of this shield the believer effectually resists the devil, and puts him to flight ; he overcometh the world, and escapes from the pollutions of sin. “ The word of God abideth ” in him, enabling him “ to overcome the wicked one ; ” and “ this is the victory that overcometh the world --- even our faith.”<sup>i</sup>

The oriental warrior had a person who went before him in the hour of danger, whose office it was to bear the great massy buckler, behind which he avoided the missile weapons of his enemy. Goliath had his armour-bearer carrying a shield before him, when he came up to defy the armies of Israel. When David went first to court, he

<sup>h</sup> Psa. xviii, 2.

<sup>i</sup> 1 John ii, 14 ; and v, 4.

was made armour-bearer to Saul; and Jonathan had a young man who bore his armour before him in the day of battle. Besides the large and ponderous buckler, the gigantic Philistine had another of smaller size called *cidon*, which we render target in one part of our version, and shield in another. It might either be held in the hand when the warrior had occasion to use it, or, at other times, be conveniently hung about his neck, and turned behind; and, therefore, the historian observes he had "a target of brass between his shoulders."

The shield was more highly valued by the ancients than all their other armour. It was their delight to adorn it with all kinds of figures, of birds and beasts, especially those of generous natures, as eagles and lions: they emblazoned upon its capacious circle the effigies of their gods, the forms of celestial bodies, and all the works of nature.<sup>1</sup> They preserved it with the most jealous care; and to lose it in the day of battle was accounted one of the greatest calamities that could befall them, worse than defeat, or even than death itself; so great was their passion for what is termed military glory, and the estimation in which it was held, that they had a profound regard for all sorts of arms, the instruments by which they attained it; and to leave them in the hands of their enemies, to give them for a pledge, or dispose of them in a dishonourable way, was an indelible disgrace both in Greece and at Rome, for which they could hardly ever atone.\*

But these sentiments were not confined to Greece and Rome; among no people were they carried higher than among the Jews. To cast away the shield in the day of

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*. lib. xi, l. 30; et lib. xviii, l. 475-507.

\* *Potter's Grecian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 35.

battle, they counted a national disgrace, and a fit subject for public mourning. This affecting circumstance was not omitted in that beautiful elegy, which David, a brave and experienced soldier, composed on the death of Saul and the loss of his army: "The shield of the mighty was vilely cast away." On that fatal day, when Saul and the flower of Israel perished on the mountains of Gilboa, many of the Jewish soldiers who had behaved with great bravery in former battles, forgetful of their own reputation and their country's honour, threw away their shields, and fled from the field. The sweet singer of Israel adverts to that dishonourable conduct, with admirable and touching pathos: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil."<sup>1</sup> The apostle has availed himself of this general feeling in his epistle to the Hebrews, to encourage them in the profession of the gospel, and in a courageous, firm, and constant adherence to the truth: "Cast not away therefore your confidence." Abide without wavering in the profession of the faith, and in the firm belief of the truth; and aim at the full assurance of the grace of faith, which as a spiritual shield, should be sought with unwearied diligence, and retained with jealous care.

The ancient warrior did not yield to the moderns in keeping his armour in good order. The inspired writer often speaks of furbishing the spear, and making bright the arrows; and the manner in which he expresses himself in relation to this part of the soldier's duty, proves, that it was generally and carefully performed. But they were

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. i. 22.

particularly attentive to their shields, which they took care frequently to scour, polish, and anoint with oil. The oriental soldier seems to have gloried in the dazzling lustre of his shield, which he so highly valued, and upon which he engraved his name and warlike exploits. To produce the desired brightness and preserve it undiminished, he had recourse to frequent unction; which is the reason of the prophet's invitation: "Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield."<sup>m</sup> As this was done to improve its polish and brightness, so it was covered with a case, when it was not in use, to preserve it from becoming rusty. This is the reason the prophet says, "Kir uncovered the shield." The words of David already quoted from his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, may refer to this practice of anointing the shield, rather than anointing the king: "The shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though it had not been anointed with oil:" the word *he* being a supplement, the version now given, is perfectly agreeable to the original text.

The offensive weapons of the eastern warriors, like those of the Greeks and Romans, were of two kinds, those with which they engaged in close fight, and those with which they attacked their enemies at a distance.<sup>n</sup> In the first class, the sword has the strongest claim upon our attention, for, except the bow, it is the most ancient weapon on the records of Scripture. It was with the sword that the sons of Jacob executed their cruel and indiscriminate vengeance on the people of Shechem; and the weapon which Jacob himself used when he attacked and defeated the Amorite, as the dying patriarch incidentally mentions in a conversation with Joseph: "Moreover, I have given

<sup>m</sup> Isa. xxi, 5.

<sup>n</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 38.

to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword, and with my bow."<sup>e</sup> It was also one of the weapons which Israel used in the wilderness, which they borrowed, rather asked among other valuable articles, from the Egyptians, when they were ready to commence their perilous march, and with which the sacred historian informs us, they went up harnessed, or armed, out of the land of Egypt.

The sword, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt put round the shoulders, and reaching down to their thighs. It was suspended on the back part of the thigh, almost to the ground, but was not girded upon it; the horseman's sword was fixed on the saddle by a girth. When David, in spirit, invites the Redeemer of the church to gird his sword upon his thigh, and the spouse says of the valiant of Israel, "Every man has his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night," they do not mean that the weapon was literally bound upon their thigh, but hung in the girdle on the back part of it; for this was the mode in which, by the universal testimony of ancient writers, the infantry wore their swords. The sword is by a figure of speech, employed to signify the keen and piercing words of an enemy. "His words," says the Psalmist, "were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords:"<sup>p</sup> and again; "swords are in their lips; for who say they doth hear." Solomon uses the same comparison in one of his proverbs: "There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword."<sup>q</sup> These allusions seem to be justified by real occurrences; for Therenot informs us, that the Turks sometimes fight, having a naked sword between their teeth, and

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xlviii, 22.

<sup>p</sup> Psa. lv, 21.

<sup>q</sup> Prov. xii, 18.

a musket in their hands.<sup>r</sup> The apostle John perhaps alludes to such an incident, in that bold, poetical image: "Out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword;"<sup>s</sup> his words pierced the heart of his enemies, filled them with terror, awed them into submission.

Close to the scabbard was hung a dagger or poinard, which was seldom used in fight, but on all occasions supplied the want of a knife, as is evident from a passage in the third Iliad:

Ἀνδρῶν δὲ σφύραινας χιμῶνι μαχαίρας, &c. L. 361.

"Drawing his dagger, which was always put close by his sword, Atreides straightway cut some hairs from the lambs' heads."

On one occasion, however, Ehud, a judge of Israel, used this weapon with terrible effect against the oppressor of his nation. His dagger, it would appear, was literally girded upon his thigh, under his raiment; but this was for the purpose of concealment, and by consequence, furnishes no example of the way in which it was commonly worn.

One of the principal offensive weapons used by the ancients in later ages, was the spear or pike, the body of which was made of wood.<sup>t</sup> The head was of metal, as was also the transverse point at the bottom, which being thrust into the ground, upheld the spear in its erect position, when the soldiers rested from the toils of war. Homer, speaking of Diomedes's followers, says,

ἀμφὶ δ' ἔσκηται

Εὐδὸν, ὅτε κραδίη δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας, ἡχίμῃ δὲ σφιν, &c. IL lib. x, l. 151.

<sup>r</sup> Trav. part i, p. 229.

<sup>s</sup> Rev. i, 16.

<sup>t</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 26.—Hector's spear was full sixteen feet in length, its head of shining brass, with a ring of gold. IL lib. viii, l. 495.

“ They found him without before the tent, with his arms, and his followers sleeping around him ; their shields were placed under their heads, and their spears were fixed upright in the ground upon their brazen points.—The hero himself, reposed in profound sleep upon the skin of a wild bull.”

Aristotle remarks, that the same custom was practised in his days among the Illyrians.<sup>a</sup> Long before the age in which he flourished, it was common in Palestine and other nations of the east ; for when David went down to reconnoitre the camp of Saul, he found him, like Diomedes, fast asleep in the centre of his army, and his spear stuck upright at his bolster.<sup>b</sup>

The ancients used two kinds of spears in battle ; the first is the *δορυ σπικίλον* of the Greeks, with which they fought in close combat ; the last is a species of missile weapon, the *πάλτα* and *βέλη* of the Grecians, which they threw at their antagonists before they drew their swords. In this way, Hector and Achilles, Menelaus and Paris, and the rest of Homer’s heroes, uniformly began their attacks.<sup>c</sup> Both these weapons were used by the Hebrews in their combats with their enemies, for we frequently read in the sacred Scriptures, of the spear, the dart, and the javelin ; with the former, they engaged in close fight ; with the latter, they annoyed their enemies from a distance.

They endeavoured to check the progress of the enemy, and repel his distant attacks, by several kinds of darts or javelins, some of which they projected with the hand, others

<sup>a</sup> De Arte Poetica.—Morier informs us, that among the Persians a spear stuck in the ground, at the bolster’s head, marks, as in the days of Saul, the spot, where a man of consequence reposes. Trav. vol. i, p. 267.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xxvi, 7.

<sup>c</sup> Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 38.

by the help of a strap girt round their middle. With one of these weapons, the king of Israel thought to rid himself of David, whose brilliant reputation he meanly envied, and whose rising popularity he weakly feared: "And there was a javelin in Saul's hand. And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it. And David avoided out of his presence twice."<sup>d</sup>

The battle axe, if we may judge from Homer's description of battles, was often carried to the field by the primitive Greeks.<sup>e</sup> With this terrible weapon, the ancient combatant endeavoured to hew in pieces, as well the armour of his antagonist which he could not penetrate with his spear or javelin, as the antagonist himself.<sup>f</sup> The axe was also used by the Persians in the early period of their history.<sup>g</sup> This assertion is confirmed by the prophet, who mentions the weapon and its principal use in fight: "Thou art my battle axe and weapons of war; for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms; and with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider; and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider."<sup>h</sup>

The bow is the first weapon mentioned in the holy Scriptures, and seems to have been quite familiar to the immediate descendants of Abraham. "Take," said Isaac, "thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison." Here indeed the reference is to hunting; but we learn from the remark of Jacob to his favourite son, that the weapon which was found so useful in his art, was soon turned against our species; and it still conti-

<sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. xviii, 11.

<sup>e</sup> Iliad. lib. xiii, l. 611; et lib. xiv, l. 710.

<sup>f</sup> See also Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 40.

<sup>g</sup> Cyroped. lib. ii, p. 85.

<sup>h</sup> Jer. li, 21.



nues to maintain its place in some countries, among the instruments of human destruction.

We learn from Homer, that the Grecian bow was at first made of horn, and tipped with gold. But the material of which it was fabricated, seems for the most part to have been wood, which the workman frequently adorned with gold and silver. One of these ornamented weapons procured for Apollo, a celebrated Cretan, the significant name of *Ἀργυροτόξα*, the bearer of the silver-studded bow.<sup>1</sup> But the Asiatic warrior often used a bow of steel or brass, which on account of its great stiffness, he bent with his foot. Those that were made of horn or wood probably required to be bent in the same way; for the Hebrew always speaks of treading his bow, when he makes ready for the battle; and to tread and bend the bow are in all the writings of the Old Testament convertible phrases. The bow of steel is distinctly mentioned by the Hebrew bard: "He teaches my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms." This was a proof of great strength, and of uncommon success in war, which he ascribes with equal piety and gratitude to the infinite power and goodness of Jehovah. To bend the bow, was frequently proposed as a trial of strength. After Ulysses had bent his bow, which all the suitors of Penelope had tried in vain, he boasted to his son Telemachus, of the deed, because it was an undeniable proof that he had not lost his ancient vigour, in which he was accustomed to glory.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus relates, that when Cambyses sent his spies into the territories of Ethiopia, the king of that country, well understanding the design of their visit, thus addressed them; When the Persians can easily draw bows

<sup>1</sup> Iliad. lib. iv, l. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Odyssey, lib. xxi, l. 409.

of this largeness, then let them invade the Ethiopians. He then unstrung the bow, and gave it to them to carry to their master.<sup>k</sup> The Persians themselves, according to Xenophon, carried bows three cubits in length.<sup>l</sup> If these were made of steel or brass, which are both mentioned in the sacred volume, and of a thickness proportioned to their length, they must have been very dangerous weapons even in close fight; and as such they are represented by the prophet Isaiah: "Their bows also shall dash the young men in pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eyes shall not spare children."<sup>m</sup> In time of peace, or when not engaged with the enemy, the oriental warriors carried their bow in a case, sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather, hung to their girdles. When it was taken from the case, it was said in the language of Habakkuk, to be "made quite naked."<sup>n</sup>

The arrows were usually made of light wood, with a head of brass or iron, which was commonly barbed. Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks. The heads of arrows were sometimes dipped in poison; an art in which one of Virgil's heroes was eminently skilled:

"Vastatorem Amyceum, quo non felicius alter

Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno." *Æn.* lib. ix, l. 771.

"Next Amycus, the destroyer of the savage kind, than whom none more skilful to anoint the dart, and arm its steel with poison."<sup>o</sup> Horace mentions the *venenata sagittæ*, the poisoned arrows of the ancient Moors in Africa. They were used by many other nations in different parts of the world; and if we believe the reports of modern tra-

<sup>k</sup> Lib. iii, c. 1, sec. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Anab. lib. iv, c. 2, sec. 28.

<sup>m</sup> Is. xiii, 18.

<sup>n</sup> Ch. iii, 9. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 41.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>p</sup> Lib. i, ode 22, l. 2. See also *Odyssey*, lib. i, l. 260.

vellers, these cruel weapons are not yet laid aside by some barbarous tribes. The negroes in the countries of Bornou and Soudan fight with poisoned arrows; the arrow is short and made of iron; the smallest scratch with it causes the body to swell, and is infallibly mortal, unless counteracted by an antidote known among the natives.<sup>k</sup> Every where, the poison used for this inhuman purpose was of the deadliest kind; and the slightest wound was followed by almost instant death. From this statement it will appear, that arrows were by no means contemptible instruments of destruction, although they are not to be compared with the tremendous inventions of modern warfare. We are not therefore to be surprised that so many striking allusions to the arrow, and the trodden bow, occur in the loftier strains of the inspired writers. The bitter words of the wicked are called "their arrows;" "their teeth are spears and arrows;" and the man that beareth false witness against his neighbour, is "a sharp arrow." But in these comparisons there is perhaps a literal meaning, which supposes a connection between the mouth and the arrow. The circumstance related by Mr. Park might possibly have its parallel in the conduct of the ancients; and if it had, clearly accounts for such figures as have been quoted. "Each of the negroes took from his quiver a handful of arrows, and putting two between his teeth, and one in his bow, waved to us with his hand to keep at a distance."<sup>l</sup>

Some are of opinion, that "the fiery darts," concerning which the apostle Paul warned his Ephesian converts, allude to the poisoned arrows, or javelins, which were so frequently used in those times; others contend, that the al-

<sup>k</sup> Burckhardt's Trav. p. 486.

<sup>l</sup> Trav. in Africa, p. 99.

lusion is made to those missile weapons, which were sometimes employed by the ancients in battles and sieges, to scatter fire in the ranks, or among the dwellings of their enemies. These were the *πυρφορα βελη* of Arrian, and the *πυρφοροι οισοι* of Thucydides, the heads of which were surrounded with combustible matter, and set on fire, when they were launched against the hostile army.<sup>m</sup>

The lightning and other meteors, are, by a very beautiful figure of speech, called in Scripture the arrows of the Almighty. In the ninety-first psalm, it evidently denotes the pestilence. "Thou shalt not be afraid --- for the arrow that flieth by day," explained in the next clause, "nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon day." The pestilence (וכר) having received its commission from God, flies like an arrow from the bow of the mighty, with amazing swiftness and force, to the destined victim, and none is able to avoid or resist the blow. The Arabs employ the same figure to denote the pestilence: "Is not," said Solymán, "the pestilence God's arrow, which will always hit the mark?" The Turks, like their emperor, thinking it absurd to fly from the ravages of the plague, demand in similar terms, "Is not the plague the dart of Almighty God? And can we escape the blow he aims at us? Is not his hand steady to hit the person he aims at? Can we run out of his sight, or beyond his power?" But the exposition of this text rests upon higher authority than theirs; the Spirit of God himself, applies the term to signify the famine, the wild beast, and the pestilence. "When I shall send upon them the evil arrows of famine, which shall be for their destruction --- So will I send upon

<sup>m</sup> Arrian de Exped. Alex. lib. ii. Thucydides, lib. ii, c. 75.

you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee ; and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee."<sup>n</sup>

But one of the most common missiles in primitive battles was the large stone. Thus in Homer, the commander-in-chief of the Grecian forces, after he had put his enemies to flight, pursued them with stones :

Αὐτὰρ ἴσως ἄλλοι κατακλῦται ἰσχυρὸς ἀνδρῶν,

Εγγὺ δ' ἑ, αἶψά τε, μεγάλασι τι χερσὶν ἔμεινον. *Il. lib. xi, l. 264.*

In the fifth book, Diomedes knocks down Æneas with the same rude weapon, and broke his leg. Ajax and Hector encountered each other in the same way ; and the latter had his buckler shivered to pieces with a stone, scarce inferior in size to a millstone.<sup>o</sup> In one of their battles the stones flew as thick on both sides as flakes of snow in the depth of winter.<sup>p</sup>

This statement shews, that the hints given by the inspired writers concerning the use of such weapones in Palestine, have nothing in them absurd or ridiculous, as they perfectly agree with the custom of ancient warriors in other parts of the world. The Hebrews appear to have attacked one another very often with these weapons, for in the Mosaic code we find this law : " If men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed ; if he rise again and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit ; only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed."<sup>q</sup> " And if he smite him with throwing a stone, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer ; the murderer shall surely be put to death."

<sup>n</sup> Ezek. v, 16, 17. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>o</sup> See also Æn. lib. xii, l. 906. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 46.

<sup>p</sup> *Iliad lib. xii, l. 267.*    <sup>q</sup> *Exod. xxi, 18.*    <sup>r</sup> *Numb. xxxv, 17.*

Thus Shimei discovered the furious malignity of his heart, when he supposed the affairs of his sovereign were irretrievably ruined: "He cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David;" and the Jews testified their indignation at the reply of our Saviour in the same way: "They took up stones to cast at him."<sup>2</sup> This conduct was evidently the relic of a very ancient custom, which had gradually fallen into disuse, as the policy and conduct of the warrior improved, till among the Jews at least, it was confined to the movements of private rage or popular fury. But the use of stones in war was not entirely laid aside, till many ages after the days of Homer; the defenders of besieged places rolled them down with terrible effect upon the heads of their enemies; and in the field, projected them from engines of different kinds. Among these instruments of destruction, the most common was the sling.<sup>3</sup>

This weapon was managed with great art and dexterity by the natives of the Balearian islands, and by the Achæians in Greece. They discharged bullets of various kinds, as arrows, stones, and plummets of lead, some of which weighed not less than an Attic pound, or an hundred drachms. After whirling it two or three times about their head, they disengaged the bullet with so great force, that neither head-piece, buckler, nor any other armour was a sufficient defence against it; and so vehement was its motion, that (as Seneca reports) the plummets were frequently melted.<sup>4</sup> The arms, says Polybius, which the Achæians chiefly used, were slings. They were trained to the art from their infancy, by slinging from a great distance, at a circular mark of a moderate circumference. By long

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xvi, 6.

<sup>3</sup> John viii, 59.

<sup>4</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

practice they took so nice an aim, that they were sure to hit their enemies, not only on the head, but on any part of the face they chose.\* The Benjamites appear to have attained a degree of skill and accuracy not inferior to the Achaians; for the sacred historian states, that "they could sling stones to an hair's breadth, and not miss."<sup>x</sup> Seven hundred men of this tribe, says our version, were left-handed; the text should rather be rendered, ambidexters, for in the first book of Chronicles it is said; "The men of Benjamin could use both the right hand and the left:" that is, they did not constantly use their right hand as others did, when they shot arrows or slung stones, but were so expert in their military exercises, that they could perform them with equal ease and certainty with their left hand as with their right.

When the Hebrews were besieged by their enemies, they erected engines on their towers and bulwarks, to shoot arrows and hurl stones; and when they sat down before a place with the view of besieging it, they dug trenches, they drew lines of circumvallation; they built forts and made ramparts; they cast up mounts on every side, and planted battering rams upon them, to breach the walls, and open a way into the city. These engines, it is probable, bore some resemblance to the balistæ and catapultæ of the Romans, which were employed for throwing stones and arrows, and were in reality, the mortars and carcasses of antiquity. Josephus asserts, that Uzziah the king of Judah taught his soldiers to march in battalia, after the manner of the Macedonian phalanx, arming them with swords, targets, and corslets of brass, with arrows and darts. He also provided a great number of engines to batter cities, and to shoot stones and darts,

\* P. 125.

<sup>x</sup> Judg. xx, 16.

besides hooks of different forms, and other instruments of a similar kind.

Calmet describes "an engine used for throwing very heavy stones, by means of a strong bow, whose circular arms are tightly held by two vertical beams, nearly upright; the cord of the bow is drawn back by means of a windlass, placed between two beams also, behind the former, but uniting with them at top; in the centre is an arm, capable of swinging backward and forward; round this arm the bowstring passes; at the bottom of this arm is placed the stone, in a kind of seat. The bowstring being drawn backward, by the power of the windlass drawing the moving arm, the rope is suddenly let go from this arm by a kind of cock, when the bowstring, recovering its natural situation, with all its power violently swings forwards the moving arm, and with it the stone, thereby projecting the stone with great force and velocity."

"Another machine for throwing stones, consists of two arms of a bow, which are strengthened by coils of rope, sinews, or hair, (women's hair was reckoned the best for the purpose.) These arms being drawn backward as tight as possible, by a windlass placed at some distance behind the machine, the string of the bow is attached to a kind of cock, and the stone to be discharged being placed immediately before it, on touching the cock, the violent effort of the bow threw off the stone to a great distance." The arms of this bow were of iron; which was the same as the *balista* of the Romans.

"Besides these kinds of instruments that were extremely powerful, others of smaller size, and inferior powers, were constructed for the purpose of being carried about; these were somewhat like our ancient cross-bows; and the bow-



string was drawn back by various contrivances, often merely by strength of arm, or by reducing the board that carried the arrow to its station, backwards, by pressing it against the ground."

To a bow of this latter kind, our author with great probability supposes, Jacob refers in his description of his son Joseph: "But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands," rather, alluding to the compound arms of the bow, the arms of its handles, "were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob."<sup>7</sup> As the arms of a bow of steel are strengthened by the coil of rope or hair, which augments their powers; whose elasticity—spring, is the very strength of the instrument, and on whose retention of this elastic power, depends the action of the whole machine; so God, by enduing Joseph with patience and self-possession under calamity and rough usage, (compared to many discharges of the bow, which are calculated to diminish or exhaust its elasticity), supported him, maintained his piety, and at length rewarded it by prosperity."<sup>8</sup>

The bow whose arms have been newly bound with rope or hair, but not with sufficient firmness to prevent the pieces of which they are made from slipping aside, would effectually prevent an archer from hitting the mark at which he aimed. "Such a bow might well be called deceitful—not to be trusted." To such an instrument the prophet Hosea seems to refer, in his complaint of Israel's apostacy: "Though I have bound and strengthened their arms, yet do they imagine mischief against me." They turn, but not forward (לִפְנֵי וְלִבָּי), "they are like a deceitful bow."

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlix, 24.

<sup>8</sup> See Taylor's *Calmet*, vol. iii.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it is necessary to direct the reader's attention to a body of soldiers among the Jews, that were distinguished by the name of the Cherethites and the Pelethites. These formed two distinct bands, whose duty it was to guard the person of the king. They were light armed troops; the Cherethites archers, and the Pelethites spearmen and slingers. Each of these two bodies had its own commander; and by being constantly near the king's person, they possessed great authority. They seem to have been the first soldiers among the Jews who served for pay.<sup>a</sup>

Under the commander-in-chief of the army were tribunes, who had each the command of a thousand men; these had under them ten centurions, each, as their name imports, commanding a hundred men; the next in rank were the commanders of fifties; and the lowest rank in the army were the commanders of ten. A secretary of war took an account of the number of troops in the army; and heralds attended the general for the purpose of declaring war, or treating of peace. The Hebrews employed spies to examine the country which they meant to invade, or the state of the army they were preparing to attack. It was in those days not less honourable to go as a spy into the camp of an enemy, than in modern times to reconnoitre the position of a hostile army; and the perilous duty was commonly undertaken by the commander-in-chief, or some officer of high rank. Gideon, raised up by Jehovah himself, to lead the Hebrew forces to battle, went down, by the divine command, to the camp of Midian to examine their position, and procure the necessary information before he made his at-

<sup>a</sup> Lewis Antiq. vol. i, p. 50.

tack. Homer likewise represents Tydides as thus answering a command to penetrate the Trojan camp :

*Νῆστορ ἐμ' ὄρνυσι κἀγαθὸν καὶ θυμὸς ἀννέει, &c. Il. lib. x, l. 260.*

“ Nestor, the heart and generous soul of a hero, prompts me to enter the hostile camp of the Trojans in our neighbourhood. But if any other hero will accompany me, it would inspire me with greater confidence and boldness ; for when two go together, one perceives before another what is proper to be done ; but one that is alone, though he should perceive, yet his purpose is more tardy, and his measures weaker and more indecisive.”

The choice of an associate was accordingly left to Diomedes himself, who selected Ulysses, a leader equally famed for prudence and valour, with whom he instantly proceeded to execute his purpose. The similarity between this scene and the one in the book of Judges, must strike the mind of every reader : “ And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord said unto him, arise, get thee down unto the host, for I have delivered it unto thine hand ; but if thou fear to go down, go thou with Phurah thy servant down to the host, and thou shalt hear what they say ; and afterwards shall thine hands be strengthened to go down unto the host : then went he down with Phurah, his servant, unto the outside of the armed men that were in the host.”<sup>b</sup>

Nor were the Hebrew soldiers unskilled in the stratagems of war. Every reader of the sacred volume must be familiarly acquainted with the admirable contrivance of Gideon, which, by the favour of heaven, led to one of the most complete victories ever gained over the innumerable hosts of a proud invader. A modern piece of Arab

<sup>b</sup> Judg. vii, 9.

history greatly illustrates the defeat of the Midianites by that renowned captain. Achmed, an Arabian prince, contested with Bel Arab the imamship of Oman ; but finding himself too weak at first to risk the issue of a battle, he threw himself, with a few soldiers, into a little fortress, built in a mountain, where he had deposited his treasures. His rival, at the head of four or five thousand men, invested the place, and would have forced the new imam to surrender, had he not quitted the fortress with two of his domestics ; all three disguised like poor Arabs, who were in search of grass for their camels. Achmed withdrew to a town, a good day's journey from the besieged fortress, where he was much beloved ; he found no difficulty in collecting some hundreds of the inhabitants, with whom he marched against his enemy. Bel Arab had placed his camp between some high mountains near the fortress. Achmed having ordered a coloured string to be tied round the heads of his soldiers, that they might be distinguished from their enemies, sent several small detachments to seize the passes of those mountains. He gave each detachment an Arab trumpet, to sound an alarm on all sides, as soon as the principal party should give the signal ; measures being thus taken, the imam's son gave the signal at day break, and the trumpets sounded on every side. The whole army of Bel Arab being thrown into a panic at finding all the passes guarded, and judging the number of the army to be proportionate to the noise they made, was put to the rout. Bel Arab himself marched with a party to the place where the son of the new imam was keeping guard ; he knew Bel Arab, fell upon him, killed him, and, according to the custom of the Arabs, cut off his head, which he carried to his father.\*

\* Niebuhr's *Arabia*, p. 263.

The king of Israel mentions another stratagem, which has been more than once successfully tried in the east. It is thus described by the sacred historian : “ And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have done to us ; they know that we are hungry, therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, when they come out of the city, we shall catch them alive, and get into the city.”<sup>d</sup> In the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, we have an account of a transaction very similar to the stratagem supposed to have been practised by the Syrians. The pasha of Damascus having approached the sea of Tiberias, found sheik Daher encamped there ; but the sheik deferring the engagement till the next morning, during the night divided his army into three parts, and left the camp with great fires blazing, all sorts of provisions, and a large quantity of spirituous liquors, giving strict orders not to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the camp, but to come down and attack just before the dawn of day. In the middle of the night, the pasha thought to surprise sheik Daher, and marched in silence to the camp, which, to his great astonishment, he found entirely abandoned ; and imagined the sheik had fled with so much precipitation, that he could not carry off the baggage and stores. The pasha thought proper to stop in the camp to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to plunder, and drunk so freely of the liquors, that overcome with the fatigue of the day’s march, and the fumes of the spirits, they were not long ere they sunk into a profound sleep. At that time two sheiks, who were watching the enemy, came silently to the camp, and Daher having repassed the sea of Tiberias, meeting them, they

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings vii, 12.

all rushed into the camp, and fell upon the sleeping foe, eight thousand of whom they butchered on the spot ; and the pasha, with the remainder of the troops, escaped with much difficulty to Damascus, leaving all their baggage in the hands of the victorious Daher.\*

It was the custom of the Greeks, before they engaged in war, to send ambassadors to the state that had given them cause of complaint, to demand satisfaction for the injuries which they had received; for it was an established maxim in their policy, that however well prepared for war, peace, upon honourable terms, was always to be preferred. This custom of demanding satisfaction, and offering conditions of peace, had been transmitted to them from the founders of their commonwealth ; for Statius, as quoted by Potter, relates that Tydeus went in the character of an ambassador from Polinices to treat with his brother Eteocles, king of Thebes, before he proceeded to invest that city. Nor was the Trojan war undertaken till conciliatory measures had been tried in vain ; for Ulysses and Menelaus were dispatched on an embassy to Troy to demand restitution.<sup>f</sup> The equitable proposals of these ambassadors were rejected by the Trojans, overruled by Antimachus, a person of great repute among them, whom Paris had gained over to his party by a large sum of money.<sup>g</sup> Invasions without notice they considered rather as robberies than lawful wars ; as designed rather to ravage the property of the innocent and unsuspecting, than to repair the losses they had sustained, and prevent the renewal of outrage. Instances, however, occur of wars commenced without previous notice, even by nations of higher

\* Burder's Orient. Cust. No. 908.

<sup>f</sup> Iliad. lib. iii, l. 205.

<sup>g</sup> Iliad. lib. xi, l. 124.

reputation for justice and humanity ; but this was done only when the provocation was deemed so great, as no recompence could atone for it, no submission expiate.<sup>h</sup>

What custom enjoined on the Greeks, the law of God required of his chosen people : before they declared war against an offending neighbour, they were commanded to settle the dispute, if possible, by negociation. Maimonides asserts, that in obedience to this law, Joshua sent a messenger with offers of peace to the seven nations of Canaan, before he entered their country. And the most ancient Jewish writers agree with him, that Joshua sent three messengers to the seven nations before he invaded them, although he had undertaken to destroy them by the command of God ; and those that accepted the conditions were suffered to retain their possessions. This account receives no little confirmation from the frequent notices respecting the remains of these people, which occur in the sacred Scriptures.<sup>i</sup>

But whatever might be the law of war with regard to the seven nations, the people of Israel were bound to offer conditions of peace to the surrounding states before commencing military operations. The terms proposed were three : 1. that they should take upon them the observation of the seven precepts of Noah, and consequently, renounce idolatry ; 2. pay an yearly tribute ; 3. become their subjects, and live in due subjection to them as their governors, who, though they could not make them slaves, might employ them in the public works. If the conditions were refused, every male approaching to a state of manhood was to be destroyed ; but the women, the male and female

<sup>h</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 64, *et seq.*

<sup>i</sup> Joseph. Antiq. b. iv, ch. 8, sec. 41 ; and b. v, ch. 2, sec. 9.

children were to be spared, while all the property of the vanquished became the booty of the victors.

The Amalekites were the only exception to this law; and the reasons for dooming them to utter destruction, are assigned by the inspired writer, with sufficient clearness and precision: "Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when you were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary, and he feared not God."<sup>p</sup> That cruel and rapacious nation attacked the chosen people, when they were just escaped from a long and grievous bondage; when they had no country for the Amalekites to seize, and when, by keeping at a distance from their territories, they gave them no just cause of alarm. The phrase, "he met thee by the way," seems also to intimate, that Amalek sent no herald, according to the established custom of those times, to declare war, and to state the reasons of it; they fell upon them in a treacherous and cowardly manner, suddenly and without provocation; they did not offer them battle like a generous enemy, but hung upon their rear, and cut off the faint and the weary, that were not able to keep up with their brethren, but reduced to linger behind. Add to all this, that Amalek feared not God, who had given so many stupendous proofs of his power in Egypt and at the Red sea, for the deliverance of his people, and who was still seen in the visible symbol of his presence, the pillar of cloud and fire conducting them through the pathless desert; all this they disregarded from a spirit of malignant hostility to Israel, and impious contempt of Jehovah, the God of

<sup>p</sup> Deut. ii, 5, 18.



that chosen and holy nation. For these reasons, the Amalekites were to be exterminated, not immediately, but after the Hebrews had obtained the quiet possession of Canaan. This injunction was never to be forgotten, but was to be imprinted deeply on their hearts; for Jehovah swore, he would have war with Amalek, from generation to generation, till the remembrance of that devoted race was utterly blotted out from under heaven.

Aware of the dangers and calamities of war, ancient Israel were accustomed to perform very solemn devotions before they took the field: and it would seem, they had certain places particularly appropriated to this purpose. Samuel convened the people to Mizpeh, in order to prepare, by a solemn address to the throne of Jehovah, for the war which they meditated against the Philistines. "And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord."<sup>1</sup> At other times, they asked counsel of God by the Urim and Thummim, or by a prophet of the Lord. Such a custom was common in Egypt, when Pococke visited that country. Near Cairo, says that traveller, beyond the mosque of sheik Duisse, and in the neighbourhood of a burial-place of the sons of some pashas on a hill, is a solid building of stone about three feet wide, built with ten steps, being at the top about three feet square, on which the sheik mounts to pray on any extraordinary occasion, when all the people go out at the beginning of a war, and here in Egypt, when the Nile does not rise as they expect it should; and such a place, they have without all the towns of Turkey.<sup>2</sup>

When they were resolved to begin the war, it was customary to offer sacrifices, and make large vows, to be paid

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. vii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pococke's Trav. vol. i, p. 36.

on the success of their enterprise. Thus, when Darius invaded Attica, Callimachus made a vow to Minerva, that, if she would grant the victory to the Athenians, he would sacrifice upon her altars as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain among their enemies.<sup>a</sup> Nor was this custom peculiar to Greece, but frequently practised in most other countries, of which the histories of Rome, Persia, and other nations, furnish many examples. It seems to have been of immemorial antiquity, for when Jephthah accepted the command of his nation against the Amorites, he solemnly vowed to offer in sacrifice to God whatever should come forth from the doors of his house to meet him, when he returned after a successful termination of the war.<sup>b</sup>

After the troops were assembled, a public sacrifice was offered upon the national altar, which was succeeded by a martial feast prepared for the whole army; and to confirm their purpose and inflame their courage, a hymn to Jehovah closed the festival. The hundred forty-ninth psalm, was, in the opinion of Doddridge, composed on such an occasion; it was sung when David's army was marching out to war against the remains of the devoted nations of Canaan, and first went up in solemn procession to the house of God, there, as it were, to consecrate the arms he put into their hands. On that occasion, the devout monarch called on his associates in arms, (ver. 5.) "to sing aloud upon their beds," that is, the couches upon which they reclined at the banquet attending their sacrifices, which gives a clear and important sense to a very obscure and difficult passage. To these military sacrifices and banquets, the people were summoned by the sound of two silver trumpets of a cubit long, according to Jose-

<sup>a</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Judg. xi, 31.

phus, but like ours, wider at bottom. These were blown by two priests, as the law of Moses required ; and they were sounded in a particular manner, that the people might know the meaning of the summons. Then the anointed for the war, going from one battalion to another, exhorted the soldiers in the Hebrew language, no other being allowed on that occasion, to fight valiantly for their country, and for the cities of their God. Officers were appointed to give notice, that those whose business it was, should make sufficient provision for the army, before they marched ; and every tenth man was appointed for that purpose. This arrangement was made by a resolution of the tribes, recorded in the book of Judges : “ And we will take ten men of an hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand out of ten thousand, to fetch victual for the people, that they may do when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, according to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel.”<sup>a</sup> Mr. Harmer contends, that “ these men were not intended so much to collect food for the use of their companions in that expedition, as to dress it, to serve it up, and to wait upon them in eating it.” But although the difference is not very material, the supposition that the tenth part of the army was to forage for the rest is more natural, and at the same time, more agreeable to the literal meaning of the text, which signifies to hunt the prey. When the answer of the hostile state was unfavourable, and encouragement was given to carry on the war, the troops were encamped in the open field till the preparations were completed, and they were ready to march. The arrangements of the Hebrew camp were first made, as already remarked, by God himself. Every family and

<sup>a</sup> Judg. xi, 10.

household had their particular ensigns, besides the great banner which they displayed in the midst of the army, under which they encamped or pursued their march. How these banners and ensigns were distinguished from one another, we have no means of ascertaining. The later Jews allege, that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man; Ephraim of an ox, and Dan of an eagle; but these are merely the conjectures of a heated imagination, and are entitled to no serious attention. It is more probable, that the name of each tribe was embroidered on the standard under which they marched; or perhaps they were distinguished, as in some other countries, only by their colours. Mr. Harmer is inclined to a different opinion; he thinks, the standards of the tribes were not flags, but little iron machines carried on the top of a pole, in which fires were lighted to direct their march by night, and so contrived, as sufficiently to distinguish them from one another. This is the kind of standard by which the Turkish caravans direct their march through the desert to Mecca, and seems to be very commonly used by travellers in the east. Dr. Pococke tells us, that the caravan with which he visited the river Jordan, set out from thence in the evening soon after it was dark for Jerusalem, being lighted by chips of deal full of turpentine, burning in a round iron frame, fixed to the end of a pole, and arrived at the city a little before day break. But he states also, that a short time before this, the pilgrims were called before the governor of the caravan, by means of a white standard that was displayed on an eminence near the camp, in order to enable him to ascertain his fees.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>v</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. ii, p. 278, 279, &c. Pococke's Trav. vol. ii, p. 33.

In the Mecca caravans, they use nothing by day, but the same moveable beacons in which they burn those fires, which distinguish the different tribes in the night. From these circumstances, Harmer concludes, that, "since travelling in the night must in general be most desirable to a great multitude in that desert, and since we may believe that a compassionate God for the most part directed Israel to move in the night, the standards of the twelve tribes were moveable beacons, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, rather than flags or any thing of that kind." On this reasoning, the following remarks are offered : 1. The people of Israel and the Mecca pilgrims, were in very different circumstances ; the former did not need such fire beacons, because they enjoyed the light and direction of a pillar of fire, which, for any thing we know to the contrary, was quite sufficient to enlighten and guide the step of every one in the camp. 2. Flags were actually carried in the caravan to Mecca, beside the fire beacons ; for a white standard was raised on an eminence, to summon the pilgrims into the governor's presence. We may therefore suppose, that the many thousands of Israel might have their flags in the desert, to guide the motions of the tribes ; and this conjecture receives some countenance from the fact, that such ensigns have been used in the east from the remotest ages. 3. The chosen people were not under the same necessity of travelling in the night, because they were defended from the intense heat of the sun by the pillar of cloud, which was expanded like an immense curtain over their hosts all the day.

In our translation, the church represents her Saviour as the standard-bearer in the armies of the living God. "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten

thousand ;” or, according to the margin, a standard-bearer among ten thousand.<sup>w</sup> These phrases are made synonymous, on the groundless supposition that a standard-bearer is the chief of the company ; for among the modern orientals, a standard-bearer is not the chief, more than among the nations of Europe. He is, on the contrary, the lowest commissioned officer in the corps who bears the colours. This, however, seems to be merely a mistake of our translators, in rendering the phrase *Dagul meribabah*. If we understand by the word *Dagul*, such a flag as is carried at the head of our troops, then, as the Hebrew participle is the pahul, which has a passive, and not an active sense, it must signify one before whom a standard is borne ; not the person who lifts up and displays it, but him in whose honour the standard is displayed. It was not a mark of superior dignity in the east to display the standard, but it was a mark of dignity and honour to have the standard carried before one ; and the same idea seems to be entertained in other parts of the world. The passage then is rightly translated thus ; My beloved is white and ruddy, and honourable, as one before whom, or around whom, ten thousand standards are borne.

The compliment is returned by her Lord in these words ; “Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners ;” and again, “Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners ?”<sup>x</sup> Mr. Harmer imagines that these texts refer to a marriage procession, surrounded with flambeaux. But what is terrible in a company of women, even although “dressed in rich attire, surrounded with nuptial flam-

<sup>w</sup> Song v, 10.

<sup>x</sup> Song vi, 4, 10.

beaux," blazing ever so fiercely? Besides, his view sinks the last member of the comparison, and indeed, seems to throw over it an air of ridicule; Who is this that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and dazzling, like a bride lighted home with flambeaux? The common translation certainly sustains much better the dignity of the last clause, while it gives the genuine meaning of (אִם) aim, which in every passage of Scripture where it occurs, signifies either terrible, or the tumult and confusion of mind which terror produces.<sup>7</sup>

The form of the Hebrew camp varied according to circumstances. In the wilderness, it was of a quadrangular form, surrounded, say the Jewish writers, with an enclosure of the height of ten handbreadth, to prevent the soldiers from deserting their colours. It was not a regular square, for the court of the tabernacle was in the midst of the camp, and the sides of that being unequal, those towards the east and west, of no more than fifty cubits length, but those towards the north and south, of an hundred cubits length, made the encampment about it also unequal. The distance of the camp from the tabernacle is reckoned to have been about two thousand cubits. This camp, the Jews say, made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle. Within this was another, called the camp of the Levites, whose duty it was to guard the tabernacle on all sides, that no profane foot enter its hallowed courts.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 449.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph. Antiq. book iii, ch. 12, sec. 5.

## CHAP. XIII.

## THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

*Encampments of Israel in Canaan.—Arab camp.—Time of going forth to war.—Syrians cursed their enemies before they undertook an expedition.—Charms used on such occasions.—Ravages of a hostile army.—Israel forbid to cut down fruit trees.—Diverting the streams into other channels, and stopping up the wells.—Order of battle among the Greeks—Among the Romans—Among the Israelites.—Military orations.—Hymn sung to the God of war.—Soothsayers.—Mode of divining by arrows—By inspecting the liver.—The chosen people had recourse to the holy Oracle.—The Greeks began their attack with the sound of trumpets.—Concert of various instruments.—Shouts of the armies rushing to battle.—Generals fought at the head of their armies.—Single combat.—Flight by panic.—Stretching out the hands to the conqueror.—Oriental cities strongly defended.—Method of besieging.—Terrible distress of the inhabitants.—The mount.—Moveable towers of wood.—Battering ram.—Engines for casting arrows.—The testudo.—Signals of the besieged to their friends.—Their mode of defence.—Cruel fate of a captured city.—Curses pronounced against those who should attempt to rebuild it.—Sowed with salt, and marked with the plough.—Stripping the slain.—Conduct of an oriental enemy in modern times.—Treatment of the dead bodies of enemies.—Warriors interred in complete armour.—Heap of stones raised over them.—Booty of the victors.—Captives taken in war.—Sold at a very low price.—Their eyes not seldom put out.—Their noses and lips cut off.—Put to death by a measuring line, or by lot.—Put under saws and harrows of iron.—Bodies of the dead bound to the living.—Sword hung from the neck of the vanquished.—Sackcloth put upon the loins, and ropes about the head.—Banner a pledge of safety.—Making streets in the capital of a conquered prince.—Method of dividing the spoil.—Part dedicated to God.—Presents to the general.—Armour suspended in the temple.—Soldier, when he retired from war, hung up his own arms there.—Sacrifices of thanksgiving.—Triumphal processions.—Head of an enemy carried on a spear.—Heads of enemies laid in heaps before the palace.—Conquerors carried branches of palm in their*



*hands.—Arms of the vanquished burnt.—Sword and head of the spear converted into implements of industry.—Roman triumph.—Officers and soldiers rewarded according to their merit.—Military crowns conferred by the general.—Those that received them placed near his person.—The Christian's triumph.*

THE encampments of Israel in Canaan seems to have been opened and unguarded on all sides. When David reconnoitred the camp of Saul, the king “lay in the trench, and all the people pitched round about him.”<sup>a</sup> The Hebrew term *magal* never signifies a ditch and rampart, as our translators seem to have understood it, but a chariot or waggon way, a high way, or the rut of a wheel in the ground. Nor is it to be understood of a ring of carriages, as the marginal reading seems to suppose, and as Buxtorf interprets the word; for it is not probable that Saul would encumber his army with baggage in so rapid a pursuit, nor that so mountainous a country was practicable for waggons. It seems then simply to mean, the circle these troops formed, in the midst of which, as being the place of honour, Saul reposed.

An Arab camp is always circular, when the dispositions of the ground will permit, the chieftain being in the middle, and the troops at a respectful distance around him. Their lances are fixed near them in the ground, all the day long, ready for action.<sup>b</sup> This was precisely the form and arrangement of Saul's camp, as described by the sacred historian. As it is an universal custom in the east to make the great meal at night, and consequently to fall into a deep sleep immediately after it, a handful of reso-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xxvi, 5. Iliad. lib. vii, l. 436.

<sup>b</sup> D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 173, 174, 169.

lute men might easily beat up a camp of many thousands. This circumstance undoubtedly facilitated the decisive victory which Gideon obtained over the combined forces of Midian.<sup>c</sup>

The most usual time of commencing military operations was at the return of spring ; the hardships of a winter campaign were then unknown. In the beginning of spring, says Josephus, David sent forth his commander-in-chief Joab, to make war with the Ammonites.<sup>d</sup> In another part of his works, he says, that as soon as spring was begun, Adad levied and led forth his army against the Hebrews. Antiochus also prepared to invade Judea at the first appearance of spring ; and Vespasian, earnest to put an end to the war in Judea, marched with his whole army to Antipatris, at the commencement of the same season. The sacred historian seems to suppose, that there was one particular time of the year to which the operations of war were commonly limited : “ And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time kings go forth to battle, that David sent Joab and his servants and all Israel, and they destroyed the children of Ammon and besieged Rabbah.”<sup>e</sup> The kings and armies of the east, says Chardin, do not march but when there is grass, and when they can encamp, which time is April. But in modern times, this rule is disregarded, and the history of the crusades records expeditions and battles in every month of the year.<sup>f</sup>

Before the idolatrous nations of Syria and Palestine undertook a warlike expedition, or entered into battle, they endeavoured to bring down a curse upon their ene-

<sup>c</sup> Judg. vii, 19. Orme's Hist. &c. vol. iv, p. 419.

<sup>d</sup> Joseph. Antiq. b. vii, ch. 6, sec. 3.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. xi, 1.

<sup>f</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 476, 482.

mies, which should inevitably secure their overthrow. Influenced by an opinion, which long prevailed in those parts of the world, that some men had a power, by the help of their gods, to devote not only particular persons, but even whole armies to destruction, Balak sent for Balaam to curse Israel, before he would venture to attack their camp; "Come now, therefore, and curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure, I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I wot, that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed."<sup>s</sup> This was done sometimes by words of imprecation, of which there was a set form among some people, which Eschines calls the determinate curse. Besides this, they sometimes offered sacrifices, and used certain rites and ceremonies with solemn charms. We discover evident traces of this custom in the conduct of Balaam, who built seven altars, and offered on every altar a bullock and a ram, in the vain hope of procuring an alteration in the purpose of the Most High; and when his hopes were disappointed in one place, he removed to another, renewing his sacrifices and incantations, supposing he might find some position where God might be more favourable to his wishes. It appears also from the history of the transaction, that Balaam did not rely for success merely on the number and quality of his oblations, but in his eagerness to merit the splendid rewards of Balak, had recourse to the arts of divination, for at the second failure he complains; "Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." And after the third attempt, it is said, "When Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he

<sup>s</sup> Numb. xxii, 6.

went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face towards the wilderness."

Some of the solemn charms used by the heathen on such occasions, are mentioned in the life of Crassus from the pen of Plutarch. The historian states that Atticus, a tribune of the people, made a fire at the gate, out of which the general was to march against the Parthians, into which he threw certain things to make a fume, and offered sacrifice to the most angry gods, with horrid imprecations. These, he says, according to ancient traditions, had such a power, that no man who was loaded with them could avoid being undone.<sup>b</sup> Under the influence probably of the same opinion, the renowned champion of the Philistines, sure of the favour and protection of his deities, and, consequently, persuaded that his enemies must necessarily be the objects of their displeasure and vengeance, cursed David by his gods, devoting him to utter destruction: And so the Romans used to do, in these words, *Di Deæque perdamt*.<sup>1</sup>

These preparatory measures taken, the hostile army began its march, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waste with fire and sword. For this purpose, the horsemen spread themselves on every side, dividing themselves into small parties in their dreadful progress, till, if not checked by the timely resistance of the inhabitants, scarcely a single dwelling escaped their indiscriminate ravage. To such a scene of pillage and desolation the prophet Habakkuk evidently refers: "Their horsemen shall spread themselves; and their horsemen shall come from far."<sup>j</sup> The Baron du Tott, in his entertaining work, has given us

<sup>b</sup> Langhorne's Plutarch, vol. iii, p. 440.

<sup>1</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i, p. 69.

<sup>j</sup> Habak. i, 3.

an account of the manner in which an army of modern Tartars conducted themselves, which serves greatly to illustrate this passage: "These particulars," says the Baron, "informed the cham or prince, and the generals, what their real position was; and it was decided that a third of the army, composed of volunteers, and commanded by a sultan and several mirzas, should pass the river at midnight, divide into several columns, subdivide successively, and thus overspread New Servia, burn the villages, corn, and fodder, and carry off the inhabitants of the country. The rest of the army, in order to follow the plan concerted, marched till they came to the beaten track in the snow made by the detachment. This we followed, till we arrived at the place where it divides into seven branches, to the left of which we constantly kept, observing never to mingle or confuse ourselves with any of the subdivisions which we successively found; and some of which were only small paths, traced by one or two horsemen. Flocks were found frozen to death on the plain, and twenty columns of smoke, already rising in the horizon, completed the horrors of the scene, and announced the fires which had laid waste New Servia."<sup>k</sup> The difficulties which have attended the explanation of this prediction are thus happily removed, and the propriety of the expression fully established.

To restrain the licentiousness and cruelty to which soldiers in general become so prone, God himself expressly forbid the armies of Israel to hurt or cut down the fruit trees to employ them in their works against a besieged city, because they contributed to the support of human life. Such as were not fruit-bearing trees might be cut

<sup>k</sup> Mem. vol. i, p. 466-487.

down to raise bulwarks, or otherwise to distress the enemy ; but not merely for the sake of waste and desolation. The Moabites, however, were punished with the utmost rigour by the express command of Jehovah himself, who had a right, when he pleased, to suspend the law which depended upon his own will : “ And this is but a light thing in the sight of the Lord ; he will deliver the Moabites also into your hand ; and ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones.”<sup>1</sup> This ancient mode of warfare, which, on ordinary occasions, was forbidden to the Hebrews, is still followed by the Arabs who infest that unhappy country. In their military expeditions they burn the corn, cut down the olive trees, carry off the sheep, and, except taking the life of the enemy, do him all the mischief in their power.<sup>m</sup>

The inhabitants of the invaded country endeavoured to distress their enemies, and force them to retire, by diverting the streams into other channels, and stopping up the wells. To those who inhabit a colder latitude, and live in a country abounding with water, such operations may seem to be a very inefficient means of defence ; but in the east, where water is very scarce, and the heat of the climate hardly to be endured, they are often terribly efficacious. It was, therefore, no feeble measure which Hezekiah proposed when Sennacherib invaded his dominions, and threatened to lay siege to his capital, “ to stop all the fountains, and the brook which ran through the midst of the land.” The same stratagem was again tried in an age long posterior to the times of that excellent monarch ; and it had the effect of reducing an European

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xix, 23.

<sup>m</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 213.

army to very great distress. In the eleventh century of the Christian era, the inhabitants of Jerusalem having received advice that the crusaders were advancing to besiege the city, stopped up their wells and cisterns for five or six miles round, that they might be obliged, from the want of water, to desist from their design. This precaution reduced the Christian army to great perplexity and distress, although it did not hinder them from persevering in the siege till they compelled the Saracens to surrender. While the inhabitants had a plentiful supply of water, as well from their cisterns which received the rain of heaven as from the fountains without the walls, the water of which was conveyed by aqueducts into two very large basons within the city, the besiegers were reduced by thirst to the last extremity. The men preserved their lives with great difficulty, by procuring a little water from some fountains at four or five miles distance; but their horses and other cattle died in great numbers, and occasioned a dangerous pestilential contagion.<sup>a</sup>

When the Greeks came within sight of their enemies in the open field, they drew up their whole army in one line, trusting the success of the day to a single onset; while the Romans, who far excelled them in the art of marshalling an army, ranging their hastati, principes, and triarii in distinct bodies behind one another at proper distances, were able, after the defeat of their first line, twice to renew the battle; and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several engagements. The armies of Israel seem to have been drawn up in the manner of the Greeks, in one front, prepared to decide the victory by one grand effort.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 404, 405.

<sup>o</sup> *Potter's Grecian Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 75.

Immediately before the signal was given, and sometimes in the heat of battle, the general of a Grecian army made an oration to his troops, in which he briefly stated the motives that ought to animate their bosoms ; and exhorted them to exert their utmost force and vigour against the enemy. The success which sometimes attended these harangues was wonderful ; the soldiers, animated with fresh life and courage, returned to the charge, retrieved in an instant their affairs which were in a declining and almost desperate condition, and repulsed those very enemies by whom they had been often defeated. Several instances of this might be quoted from Roman and Grecian history, but few are more remarkable than that of Tyrtæus, the lame Athenian poet, to whom the command of the Spartan army was given in one of the Messenian wars. The Spartans had at that time suffered great losses in many encounters ; and all their stratagems proved ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of success, when the poet, by his lectures of honour and courage, delivered in moving verse to the army, ravished them to such a degree with the thoughts of dying for their country, that, rushing on with a furious transport to meet their enemies, they gave them an entire overthrow, and by one decisive battle brought the war to a happy conclusion.<sup>P</sup>

Such military harangues, especially in very trying circumstances, are perfectly natural, and may be found perhaps in the records of every nation. The history of Joab, the commander-in-chief of David's armies, furnishes a striking instance : " When Joab saw that the front of the battle was against him, before and behind, he chose of all

<sup>P</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 76.



the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians; and the rest of the people he delivered into the hand of Abishai his brother, that he might put them in array against the children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me; but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will come and help thee. Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good in his sight."<sup>1</sup> In a succeeding age, the king of Judah addressed his troops, before they marched against the confederate armies of Moab and Ammon, in terms becoming the chief magistrate of a holy nation, and calculated to make a deep impression on their minds: "And as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem: Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper."<sup>2</sup> To express his own confidence in the protection of Jehovah, and to inspire his army with the same sentiments, after consulting with the people, he "appointed singers unto the Lord, and that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever."<sup>3</sup> This pious conduct obtained the approbation of the living and true God, who rewarded the cheerful reliance of his people with a complete victory over their enemies, unattended by loss or danger to them; for "when they began to praise, the Lord turned every man's sword against his fellow," in the camp of the confederates, till not one escaped. Animated with joy and gratitude for so great a deliverance, the pious king returned to Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. x, 9, 10.<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xx, 20.<sup>3</sup> Verse 21.

at the head of his troops, preceded by a numerous band of music, celebrating the praises of the God of battles. A custom not unlike this, and perhaps derived from some imperfect tradition of it, long prevailed in the states of Greece. Before they joined battle, they sung an hymn to the god of war, called *παιαν μὐσκατηριος*; and when victory declared in their favour, they sung another to Apollo, termed *παιαν επινικιος*.<sup>t</sup>

“The soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to pre-sage the success of the battle; and till the omens proved favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their lives to the enemy, than to defend themselves.”<sup>u</sup> These superstitious rites they borrowed from the Babylonians, who were exceedingly addicted to divination. The prophet Ezekiel records a remarkable instance of this, in his prophecy against Jerusalem. “For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver.”<sup>v</sup> Jerome says, the mode of divining by arrows was this: They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they intended to besiege, and then putting them promiscuously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out in the manner of lots, and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn out, was the first they assaulted.” Della Valla mentions another method of divination by arrows, different from the former: “He saw at Aleppo, a Mahommedan, who caused two persons to sit upon the ground, one opposite to the other, and gave them four arrows into their hands, which both of them held with

<sup>t</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 76.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 77.

<sup>v</sup> Ezek. xxi, 21.

their points downward, and as it were in two right lines, united one to the other. Then a question being put to him about any business, he fell to murmur his enchantments, and thereby caused the said four arrows of their own accord to unite their points together in the midst, (though he that held them stirred not his hand,) and according to the future event of the matter, those of the right side were placed over those of the left, or on the contrary." This practice, Della Valla refers to diabolical influence.\*

Some writers are of opinion, that the arrows were cast into the air, and the inquirer was to shape his course the same way that the arrow inclined in its descent. This was perhaps the reason that the king of Babylon made the head of his arrows bright, that the sun-beam reflected from their polished heads, might enable him to trace their path with greater ease and certainty. It is however still more probable, that he divined by looking upon the iron heads of the arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; which accounts in the most satisfactory way for the care with which they were brightened.

To this method of divination, was added the inspection of the liver. This was also the first and principal part of the intestines, which the Grecian soothsayers examined. If it was corrupted, they thought that the blood, and by consequence all the body, must be so too; and therefore if it was found in a very bad state, they desisted immediately, without regarding the supposed indications of the other parts. If it exhibited a pleasing and natural redness; if it was sound, without spot or blemish; if its head was large; if it had two heads, or if there were two livers; if its lappets were turned inwards: then prospe-

\* Trav. p. 276.

riches and success were expected. But if, on the other hand, it was too dry, or the parts tied together, especially if it was without a lappet, or the liver itself was altogether wanting, they looked for nothing but dangers, disappointments, and misfortunes.

The chosen people of Jehovah, not less eager than others to know the issue of their military expeditions, or if Heaven regarded their undertakings with a favourable eye, had frequent recourse to the holy Oracle ; they consulted the prophet of the Lord ; they offered sacrifices, and consulted with the high priest who bore the Urim and Thummim in his breastplate, by means of which he discovered the will of the Deity ; or, presenting himself at the altar of incense, received the desired response by an audible voice from the most holy place. The son of Jesse, in a time of great distress and perplexity, consulted the oracle by means of an ephod, a part of the sacerdotal vestments : “ And David said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech’s son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod ; and Abiathar brought hither the ephod to David. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop ? Shall I overtake them ? And he answered him, Pursue ; for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.”\* Here was no brightening of arrows, after the custom of superstitious heathens ; no consulting with images, nor inspecting of intestines, from which nothing but vague conjecture can result ; but a devout and humble application to the throne of the true God ; and the answer was in every respect worthy of his character ; it was clear and precise, at once authorizing the pursuit, and promising complete success ;

\* 1 Sam. xxx, 8.

or forbidding them, in plain terms, to prosecute their designs.

After the introduction of trumpets into Greece, her armies generally began the attack at the sound of this warlike instrument ; but the Lacedæmonians were particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with the soft tones of the flute, which were intended to render the combatants cool and sedate, and enable them to march with a firm and majestic step against their enemies.<sup>7</sup> In the armies of Israel, the courage of the soldiers was roused and sustained by a concert of various instruments; in which were distinguished the martial sounds of the silver trumpet, and the gentler notes of the harp and the psaltery.<sup>8</sup> In the beginning of their onset, they gave a general shout to encourage and animate one another, and strike terror into their enemies. This circumstance is distinctly stated in the first book of Samuel : “ And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him ; and he came to the trench, as the host was going forth to the fight, and shouted for the battle. For Israel and the Philistines had put the battle in array, army against army.”<sup>a</sup> This custom seems to have been used by almost every nation under heaven ; and is mentioned by all writers who treat of martial affairs. Homer compares the confused noise of two armies in the heat of battle, to the deafening roar of torrents rushing with impetuous force from the mountains into the subjacent valleys.<sup>b</sup> In the sixteenth Iliad, the fierce bands of Achilles pour from their ships into the plain with a joyful shout :

<sup>7</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 83.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. xvi, 20.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chron. xx, 28.

<sup>b</sup> Iliad. lib. v, l. 452.

Εκ νησὶ ἐχούτω, βὸν δ' ἀκούσας ὑμῶν.

L. 267.

In the wars which the Hebrews prosecuted in Canaan, and in the surrounding countries, the generals fought at the head of their armies, performing at once the part of a private soldier, and the various duties of a resolute captain. In the heroic ages, the Grecian generals exposed their persons in the same way.<sup>c</sup> Homer, in all his battles, places the principal officers in the front, and calls them *τρωαχοί* and *τρώες*, because they fought before their armies: Thus when he led up the Trojans, the godlike Paris fought at their head:

Τρώων μιν πρῶμαχιζεν Ἀλεξάνδρος Διομήδης.

Il. lib. iii, l. 16.

And when Achilles sends out his soldiers to defend the Grecian ships, having allotted to the rest of his officers their several posts, he places Patroclus and Automedon, as chief commanders, before the front.<sup>d</sup>

The Lacedæmonians were not allowed to prosecute their victory when their enemies fled from the field, nor to persist long and eagerly in the pursuit.\* The Spartans, says Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus, having routed an enemy, pursued him till they had completed their victory, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it base and unworthy of true Grecians to cut men in pieces, who had ceased to resist them, and left them masters of the field. This manner of dealing with those whom they had conquered, not only shewed their magnanimity and greatness of soul, but also served a political purpose; for their enemies knowing, that they killed only those who made resistance, and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by an early flight. The Hebrew generals, also

<sup>c</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 87.

<sup>d</sup> Il. lib. xvi, l. 218.

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 88. Thucydides, lib. v, vol. i, p. 133.

restrained on certain occasions the valour of their men, and recalled them early by sound of trumpet from the pursuit. Absalom was no sooner slain and the victory secured, than "Joab blew the trumpet, and the people returned from pursuing after Israel; for Joab held back the people."<sup>f</sup> Another instance occurred in the battle, which was fought by the pool of Gibeon, between the adherents of David and the house of Saul: "So Joab blew a trumpet, and all the people stood still, and pursued after Israel no more, neither fought they any more."<sup>g</sup> But on many other occasions, they continued the pursuit a long time; as Joab himself intimates in his reply to Abner: "As God liveth, unless thou hadst spoken, surely then in the morning, the people had gone up every one from following his brother."

The ancient Grecians frequently committed their cause to the issue of a single combat, and decided their quarrels by two or more champions on each side; and their kings and great commanders were so eager in the pursuit of glory, and so tender of the lives of their subjects, that they frequently sent challenges to their rivals, to end the quarrel by a single encounter, that by the death of one of them, the effusion of more blood might be prevented. Ancient history contains many remarkable instances of such combats; Xanthus, king of Bœotia, challenged the king of Attica, to terminate the dangerous war in which their states were engaged in this way, and lost his life in the contest; and Pittacus, the famous Mitylenian, killed Phryno the Athenian general, in a single combat.<sup>h</sup> This custom

<sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. xviii, 16.

<sup>g</sup> Chap. ii, 28.

<sup>h</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 89.—Long before their time, Menelaus and Paris engaged in single combat under the walls of Troy. *Iliad*. lib. iv, l. 325, &c. Hector and Ajax, lib. vii, l. 225.

was not unknown in Palestine and other eastern countries, for the champion of the Philistines challenged the armies of Israel, to give him a man to fight with him ; and when he fell by the valour of David, his countrymen, struck with dismay, immediately deserted their standards, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight.

The challenge given on those occasions, was generally couched in the most insolent language, and delivered with a very contemptuous air. Thus, Homer makes one chief address another in these terms : “ Bold as thou art, too prodigal of life, approach and enter the dark gates of death.” But this is a tame and spiritless defiance, compared with the proud and insulting terms which Goliath addressed to his young and inexperienced antagonist : “ Come to me, and I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field ;” or the bold and manly, but devout reply of the youthful warrior : “ Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand, and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee, and I will give the carcases of the hosts of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth ; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel.”<sup>1</sup>

The Philistines no sooner saw their champion fallen, and his head severed from his body, than, seized with a panic fear, they fled, and the armies of Israel pursued with loud acclamations. Another instance of panic which struck the army of the Philistines, a short time before, when Jonathan and his armour-bearer fell upon their gar-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xvii, 45.



rison and put them to flight, is described in these terms: "And there was trembling in the host, in the field, and among all the people; the garrison and the spoilers, they also trembled; and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling." In the Hebrew, it is a trembling of God; that is, a fear which God sent upon them, and consequently which the strongest mind could not reason down, nor the firmest heart resist. This fear, the Greeks and other heathen nations called a panic; because Pan, one of their gods, was believed to be the author of it. Bacchus, in his Indian expedition, led his army into some defiles, where he was surrounded by his enemies, and reduced to the last extremity. By the advice of Pan, his lieutenant general, he made his army give a sudden shout, which struck the enemy with so great astonishment and terror, that they fled with the utmost precipitation.<sup>1</sup> Hence, it was ever afterwards called a panic, and supposed to come directly from heaven. It is thus expressed by Pindar:

— ὡς γὰρ  
Δαίμονες φοβέει  
Φεύγονται καὶ παῖδες Θέου.

"When men are struck with divine terrors, even the children of the gods betake themselves to flight."<sup>k</sup>

The flight of the Syrians, in the reign of Jehoram, king of Israel, was produced by a panic, which so completely unmanned them, that, says the sacred historian, "all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste."<sup>1</sup> The flight of Saladine's army, which was defeated by Baldwin IV. near Gaza, in the time of the crusades, was marked with similar circum-

<sup>1</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 84.

<sup>k</sup> Nemea, ix, 63.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings vii, 15.

stances of consternation and terror. To flee with greater expedition, they threw away their arms and clothes, their coats of mail, their greaves and other pieces of armour, and abandoned their baggage, and fled from their pursuers, almost in a state of complete nudity.<sup>m</sup>

It was customary in the ancient combats, for the vanquished person to stretch out his hands to the conqueror, signifying that he declined the battle, yielded the victory, and submitted to the direction of the victor. So, Turnus in Virgil :

——— “ *Vidisti et victum tendere palmas*

*Ausonii viros.*”

*Æt. lib. xii, l. 936.*

“You have overcome, and the Ausonians have seen thy vanquished foe stretch forth his suppliant hands.” To this custom, our Lord alludes in his prediction to Peter ; “When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee.”<sup>n</sup> The aged apostle was to stretch out his hands as a token of submission to that power, under which he would fall and perish.<sup>o</sup>

Many of the oriental cities were defended by strong walls and lofty towers, long before the nations of Greece and Rome had any fixed or settled habitations. When the armies of Israel entered Canaan, they found Jericho, and other towns, strongly fortified ; for the reduction of which they were indebted, not to their own bravery, nor the effect of their military engines, but to the miraculous power of heaven. After they became more expert in military affairs, and provided with suitable means of attack, they undertook and prosecuted sieges in due form. When they endeavoured to get possession of a tower or castle,

<sup>m</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 485, 486.

<sup>n</sup> John xxi, 18.

<sup>o</sup> Burder's *Orient. Cust. obs.* 1306.

they seem to have attempted it first by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once. When this method proved ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their enterprise : but if determined to prosecute it, they prepared for a longer siege, in the management of which they seem to have followed no constant and settled method. In attacking and defending cities, they probably employed much the same means as the Greeks and Romans afterwards adopted, and carried to so great a state of perfection. The renowned warriors of Greece and Rome began their operations against a fortified town with lines of circumvallation, which sometimes consisted of a double wall or rampart, raised of turfs, called in Greek *κλιθοι* and *κλιθία*, in Latin *cespites*. The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, and to deprive it of all possibility of succour from without ; the exterior, to secure them from foreign enemies that might come to the relief of the besieged. The middle space, which was sixteen feet, was taken up with lodges for guards and centinels, built at due distances from one another ; yet so close, that at a distant view the whole pile appeared to be one broad wall, with turrets on both sides, after every tenth of which was a larger tower, extended from wall to wall.<sup>p</sup> Such appear to be the works which Moses refers to in his directions for the management of a siege : “ When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof, by forcing an ax against them ; for thou mayest eat of them ; and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man’s life) to employ them in the siege : Only the trees which thou knowest that they

<sup>p</sup> Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 90.

be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued."<sup>4</sup>

The terrible distress to which the inhabitants of a besieged city were sometimes reduced by these works of circumvallation, is described by the same pen in strong but just colours, in a following chapter: "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons, and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee; so that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eyes shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave; so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them, for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates."<sup>5</sup> The same calamity was predicted by our Lord a short time before his death, in his affecting lamentation over Jerusalem: "For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xx, 19, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxviii, 53, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Luke xix, 43. See also Jer. xix, 9.

Another contrivance which the besiegers employed, was the *agger* or mount, which they raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls: the sides were supported with bricks or stones, or secured with strong rafters to hinder it from falling; the fore part only remained bare, because it was to be advanced by degrees nearer the city. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones; into the middle were cast also wickers, and twigs of trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other parts. The whole fabric is thus described by Lucan:

——— “*tunc omnia late*

*Procumbunt nemora et spoliantur robore sylva,” &c.*

“The groves are felled, and strongest timber sought;

From thickest forests largest oaks are brought,

To make strong rafters to support the pile,

Lest the earth break in and frustrate all their toil,

Unable to sustain the tower's weight.”<sup>1</sup>

The prophet Habakuk manifestly refers to the mount, in that prediction, where he describes the desolating march of the Chaldeans, and the success of their arms: “They shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap up dust and take it.”<sup>2</sup>

Moveable towers of wood were usually placed upon the mount, which were driven on wheels fixed within the bottom planks, to secure them from the enemy. Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city they besieged: the front was usually covered with tiles; and in later times the sides were likewise guarded with the same materials; their tops were covered with raw hides, and other things, to preserve them from fire balls and missive weapons: they were formed into several stories, which were able to carry both soldiers and

<sup>1</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Hab. i, 10.

several kinds of engines."<sup>v</sup> All these modes of attack were practised in the days of Isaiah, who threatens Jerusalem with a siege conducted according to this method: "And I will encamp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount; and I will raise forts against thee."<sup>w</sup> The prophet Ezekiel repeats the prediction in almost the same words, adding only the name of the engine which was to be employed in battering down the walls: "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem; and lay siege against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it; and set battering rams against it round about."<sup>x</sup>

The battering-ram was an engine with an iron head, resembling the head of a ram, with which they beat down the enemies' walls. Of this, Potter mentions three kinds; the first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with main force against the wall; the second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forward with much greater force; the third differed from the former only in being covered with a testudo, or shroud, to protect the soldiers that worked it from the darts of the enemy. The beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as they pleased. Josephus reports, that one of Vespasian's rams, the length of which was only fifty cubits, which came not up to the size of several of the Grecian rams, had an head as thick as ten men, and twenty-five

<sup>v</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 84.

<sup>w</sup> Isa. xxix, 3.

<sup>x</sup> Ezek. iv, 1.

horns, each of which was as thick as one man, and placed a cubit's distance from the rest ; the weight hung (as was customary), upon the hinder part, was no less than one thousand and five hundred talents ; when it was removed from one place to another, it was not taken in pieces ; an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pair of horses and mules laboured in drawing it ; and no less than fifteen hundred men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls. At other times, we find these rams driven upon wheels. Such was the formidable engine, of which the prophet warned the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and which in the hands of the Romans, levelled at last the walls of that proud metropolis with the ground.<sup>7</sup>

To this may be added, various engines for casting arrows, darts, and stones of a larger size ; of which the most remarkable was the balista, which hurled stones of a size not less than mill-stones, with so great violence as to dash whole houses in pieces at a blow. Such were the engines which Uzziah the king of Judah, planted on the walls and towers of Jerusalem, to defend it against the attacks of an invading force : “ And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers, and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal.”<sup>a</sup> Some of these inventions, however, had been in use long before ; for in the reign of David, the battering-ram was employed in the siege of Abel-Bethmaachah : “ They cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench ; and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall to throw it down.”<sup>a</sup> These powerful engines, invented by Jewish artists, and worked by the skill and vigour of

<sup>7</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 95.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. xxvi, 15.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xx, 15.

Jewish soldiers, were undoubtedly the prototypes of those which the celebrated nations of Greece and Rome afterwards employed with so much success in their sieges.<sup>b</sup>

The *testudo*, or tortoise, was a defensive invention, which received its name from covering and sheltering the soldiers from the weapons of their enemies, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. Ancient authors describe several kinds of it; but the one to which the sacred writer seems to allude, is the *testudo militaris*, used in the field of battle, but more frequently in surprising cities, before the inhabitants were apprised of their danger, and prepared for their defence, which served to protect the besiegers in their approach to the walls. When the *testudo* was formed, the soldiers drew up close to one another, and the hindmost ranks bowing themselves, placed their targets above their heads; the first rank stood erect, the rest stooped lower and lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled upon the ground; the men in the front and on the sides holding their targets before their bodies, the rest covering the heads of those who were placed before them; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house or roof, covered with tiles, down which the enemies' missile weapons easily glided, without prejudice to the soldiers beneath.<sup>c</sup> Under a covert of this kind, the prophet foretels that the armies of Babylon should advance to the attack of Tyre: "He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee;" advance to storm thy walls under the protection of the *testudo*; "and he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers."<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 95.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 93.

<sup>d</sup> Ezek. xxvi, 8, 9.



Under the protection of their bucklers, the soldiers mounted upon the shoulders of one another till they reached the top of the wall ; or they endeavoured singly to climb it, wherever they could find a hold, or a place less vigilantly guarded.

The methods by which the besieged endeavoured to defend themselves and their families were various. When the enemy approached, they gave notice to their confederates to hasten their assistance. In the day, this was done by raising a great smoke ; in the night by fires or lighted torches. If the flaming torch was intended to announce the arrival of friends, it was held still ; but on the approach of an enemy, it was waved backwards and forwards, an apt emblem of the destructive tumults of war.\* In allusion to this practice, the prophet Jeremiah calls to the people of Benjamin and Judah ; “ Gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoah, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccarem ; for evil approaches out of the north, and great destruction.”† Sometimes, like the men of Gibeon and Jabesh-Gilead,‡ they sent messengers to inform their friends of their perilous condition, and entreat their assistance. They guarded the walls with soldiers, who, with stones and all sorts of missile weapons, annoyed the invaders, and repulsed their attack,. In some instances, the weaker sex vied with their fathers and husbands, in defending their walls ; a memorable instance of which is recorded in the book of Judges, where the historian describes the fall of Abimelech by the hand of a woman. When Hezekiah was threatened with utter destruction by Sennacherib, “ he took counsel with his princes and the mighty men, to

\* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 96.

† Jer. vi, 1.

‡ Josh. x, 6. 1 Sam. xi, 4.

stop the waters of the fountains, which were without the city --- Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David, and made darts and shields in abundance."<sup>a</sup> Many other contrivances were used, as the posture of affairs required, or the genius of the besieged supplied them with methods of annoyance and defence; but as the sacred writers make few or no allusions to them, they do not come within the plan of this work.

When a city was taken, all that were found in arms were put to the sword; the walls and buildings were demolished, and the rest of the inhabitants were sold into slavery. If the defence had been long and vigorous, if the besiegers had suffered much, or if the general was of a cruel or ungenerous disposition, men, women, and children, were involved in one promiscuous destruction. But so cruel a fate was reserved only for some particular places; many cities taken by siege, were, after the tumult of battle, received into favour by the conqueror, who required only some tributary acknowledgment.<sup>1</sup> The lot of populous No was very severe. This ancient and celebrated city, "that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea," had probably made a long and obstinate resistance: "Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men; and all her great men were bound in chains."<sup>1</sup> No less complete was the pre-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii, 3, 4.

<sup>1</sup> Nah. iii, 10.

<sup>1</sup> Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii, p. 97.

dicted destruction of Tyre, which has long since been realized in every particular ; “ And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers. I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea : for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God ; and it shall become a spoil to the nations. And her daughters which are in the field shall be slain by the sword ; and they shall know that I am the Lord.”<sup>k</sup> Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, has been in like manner swept away from the face of the earth, by the fierce anger of Jehovah ; the prediction has been completely fulfilled ; “ Every one that is found shall be thrust through ; and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes ; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished.”<sup>l</sup> The prediction of Jerusalem’s fall may finish this fearful picture of desolation : “ For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee ; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another ; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.”<sup>m</sup>

When the Greeks demolished a city, it was their custom to pronounce direful curses against those who should attempt to rebuild it. This custom seems to have been of great antiquity, and derived from the eastern nations ; for Joshua, the renowned successor of Moses, pronounced a solemn malediction against the person who should rebuild Jericho ; which received its accomplishment in Hiel

<sup>k</sup> Ezek. xxvi, 3.<sup>l</sup> Isa. xiii, 16.<sup>m</sup> Luke xix, 43.

the Bethelite, many ages after, in the reign of Ahab. "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun."<sup>o</sup>

The captured city was, after being razed to the foundations, not unfrequently sowed with salt, and marked with the plough, in token of perpetual desolation. Experience had taught the ancients, that the soil which abounds with salt is uniformly barren and desolate. The dreary solitudes, encrusted with salt, which in Syria so frequently meet the traveller's eye, and particularly that extensive desert which stretches between Aleppo and Basorah near the Persian gulf, probably suggested to the oriental conqueror, the ancient custom of sowing with salt a vanquished city, which his ungenerous revenge had devoted to never-ending desolation. A memorable instance of this practice occurs in the history of Abimelech, who took the city of Shechem, and after putting the wretched inhabitants to the sword, levelled it with the ground, and sowed it with salt.<sup>p</sup> And in modern times, the exasperated emperor Frederic Barbarossa, burnt, razed, sowed with salt, and ploughed the city of Milan. In allusion to the last of these customs, it was foretold by the prophet Micah: "Zion shall be ploughed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest."<sup>q</sup> The Jewish writers allow that this prophecy received its fulfilment in the utter destruction of the second temple by Titus, when

<sup>o</sup> 1 Kings xvi, 34. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 97.

<sup>p</sup> Judg. ix, 45.

<sup>q</sup> Jer. xxvi, 18.

Terentius, or, as some modern Jews call him, Turnus Rufus, razed the very foundations of the city and temple, so that according to the prediction of our Lord, "One stone was not left upon another." So frequent was the custom of breaking up the ground with the plough, where the dwellings of a brave and resolute people had stood, that Horace speaks of it in the most familiar terms:

——— "*imprimeretque muris*  
*Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.*"

An oriental enemy, as in former ages, cuts down the trees of the country which he invades; destroys the villages, and burns all the corn and provender which he cannot carry off: the surrounding plain, deprived of its verdure, is covered with putrid carcasses and burning ashes; the hot wind wafting its foetid odours, and dispersing the ashes among the tents, renders his encampment extremely disagreeable. During the night the hyenas, jackalls, and wild beasts of various kinds, allured by the scent, prowl over the field with a horrid noise; and as soon as the morning dawns, a multitude of vultures, kites, and birds of prey, are seen asserting their claim to a share of the dead. Such was the scene which Forbes contemplated on the plains of Hindostan; "and it was to me," says that writer, "a scene replete with horrid novelty, realizing the prophet's denunciation: "I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord; the sword to slay, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth to devour and destroy."'

It was the practice of ancient warriors, to strip the dead bodies of their enemies on the field of battle, after the victory was secured, and the pursuit had ceased; and not

' Jer. xv, 3. Forbes's Orient. Memoirs.

satisfied with this, they often treated them in the most brutal manner, basely revenging the injuries which they had received from them while living, by disfiguring their remains, and exposing them to scorn and ignominy. When the Philistines came to strip the dead that fell in the battle on the mountains of Gilboa, they found Saul and his three sons among the slain. But instead of respecting his rank and valour, they "cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, which they put in the house of Ashtaroth; and they fastened his body, and the bodies of his sons, to the wall of Beth-shan." Capital offences were sometimes punished by throwing the criminal upon hooks, which were fixed in the wall below, where they frequently hung in the most exquisite tortures, thirty or forty hours before they expired. It is probable that the bodies of Saul and his sons were fixed to such hooks as were placed there for the execution of the vilest malefactors; but whatever be in this, it was certainly meant as one of the greatest indignities which they could offer to the remains of an enemy whom they both feared and detested.

The ancient Greeks treated the dead bodies of their enemies in a manner equally indecent and inhuman. They mangled, dismembered, dragged them about the field of battle, and suffered them to lie unburied for a long time, and even to become the prey of savage beasts and ravenous fowls. No instance of this kind is more remarkable than that of the brave, the generous, but unfortunate Hector, whose dead body suffered every indignity which the infuriate rage of Achilles, or the ferocious brutality of his myrmidons could invent. Nay the whole army joined in the brutish and barbarous insult; which shews that it was their constant practice, and regarded as quite

consistent with virtue and honour.\* Tydeus is not treated with more respect in Statius; and in Virgil, the body of Mezentius is cruelly lacerated, for though he only received two wounds from Æneas,<sup>†</sup> we find his breastplate afterwards pierced through in twelve places:

— “bis sex thoraca petitus

Perfossunque locis.”

*Æneid.* lib. xi, l. 9.

These instances, to which many others might be added, prove that it was the common practice of ancient warriors. In the heroic ages too, the conquerors compelled their enemies to pay a large sum of money for permission to bury their dead. Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles; and that of Achilles was redeemed from the Trojans for the same price he had received for Hector.<sup>‡</sup> And Virgil introduces Nisus dissuading his friend Euryalus from accompanying him into danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no person to recover by fight, or redeem his body:

“Sitque me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum

Mandet humo solita.”

*Æneid.* lib. ix, l. 213.

These statements prove, that it was a common practice in the primitive ages, to redeem the dead body of a warrior; and if this was neglected or refused, it was frequently suffered to remain unburied.<sup>§</sup> But, in succeeding times, it was considered as the greatest impiety, as the indubitable mark of a savage or ungenerous temper, to deny the rites of burial to an enemy. The more civilized Grecians reckoned it a sacred duty to bury the slain, a debt which they owed to nature; and they seldom or

\* *Iliad.* lib. xxii, l. 367.

† *Æneid.* lib. x, l. 905.

‡ *Iliad.* lib. xxiv. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 97, 98.

§ Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 100-102.

never neglected it, or refused their permission to pay it, except on extraordinary and unusual provocations. It was a very aggravating circumstance in the desolations of Jerusalem, so feelingly described by the pen of Asaph; that the dead bodies of her inhabitants remained unburied; and the terms in which he mentions it, prove that the Hebrews had the same acute feelings, relative to this subject, as the most refined nations of antiquity: "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps: The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them."<sup>w</sup>

The ancients, in every part of the world, were accustomed to inter their warriors in complete armour. We are informed by Chardin, that the Mingrelian soldier sleeps with his sword under his head, and his arms by his side; and he is buried in the same manner, his arms being placed in the same position. The allusion of Ezekiel to this ancient custom is extremely clear: "They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living."<sup>x</sup>

To mark the spot where the chiefs were buried, and to remain at the same time as a memorial of the battle in

<sup>w</sup> Psa. lxxix, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>x</sup> Ezek. xxxii, 27. Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 55, 56.



which they fell, their surviving friends raised over them a heap of stones. This practice may be traced to the primitive ages of the world ; for when Absalom was defeated and slain, " they cast him into a great pit, in the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him." This monumental heap was not intended to indicate that Absalom deserved to be stoned as a rebellious son, but merely to mark, according to a very common and a very ancient custom, the grave of that ambitious and unnatural prince. It was usual in the east, indeed, to distinguish any remarkable place or event by a heap of stones. All the Mahomedans that go in pilgrimage to mount Sinai, visit a rock, on which the form of a camel's foot is imprinted, which they foolishly suppose to be the animal that Mahomet rode ; and, therefore, in honour of their prophet, they bring every one a stone, till, by continual accumulation, a large heap has risen near the place. Jacob, and his family too, raised a heap of stones in commemoration of the covenant so happily concluded between him and Laban, on mount Gilead. That " heap of witness" informed every passenger that it was raised in memory of some interesting event ; and every relation that brought a stone to the heap, made himself a witness to the agreement, as well as recommended it to the attention of others.<sup>7</sup> The surviving warriors, too, might bring every man his stone, in token of their respect for the deceased, to raise a monumental heap over the body of the hero who had led them to battle and to victory, which should arrest the notice of the passing traveller, and bear witness to future times of their attachment and regret.

The booty of the victors consisted of prisoners and

<sup>7</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. iv, p. 390.

spoils. All the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country which depended upon it, became either the property of the conquering nation, or of that particular person who had taken them, according to the laws which regulated the acquisition and division of spoil in different states. At the taking of Troy, all that remained alive were made slaves, not excepting Hecuba the wife of Priam, and the princesses her daughters. The histories of Greece and Rome furnish many such examples.\* The Romans ungenerously loaded with chains those princes who made a brave and obstinate resistance to their insatiable ambition, or put them to death after they had led them in triumph. They sold the common people by auction, and divided their lands among their own citizens, whom they sent to establish colonies in the desolated regions. The Babylonian monarch pursued the same barbarous policy; he “slew the sons of Zedekiah, in Riblah, before his eyes; also the king of Babylon slew all the nobles of Judah. Moreover he put out Zedekiah’s eyes, and bound him with chains, to carry him to Babylon: And the Chaldeans burned the king’s house, and the houses of the people, with fire, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem; then Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, carried away captive into Babylon the remnant of the people that remained in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to him, with the rest of the people that remained.”† But the captive Jews were not treated with the severity which they experienced that were compelled to pass under the Roman yoke: Several of them, after they were carried to Babylon, rose to the highest offices in the state; while others lived in easy circumstances, building houses, and planting

\* Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 106.

† Jer. xxxix, 6.

vineyards, and enjoying the fruit of their labours. We are, however, to remember that they lived under the special protection of God, who had promised to preserve them in the land of their captivity, and bring them again into their own inheritance. Those who enjoyed no such protection, frequently met with a very different fate. The oriental conqueror often addressed his unfortunate captives in the most insulting language, of which the prophet Isaiah has left us a specimen: "But I will put it (the cup of Jehovah's fury) into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, bow down that we may go over.<sup>b</sup> And their actions were as harsh as their words were haughty; they made them bow down to the very ground, and put their feet upon their necks, and trampled them in the mire. This indignity the chosen people of God were obliged to suffer: "Thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over." The practice seems to have descended from a very remote antiquity, in the oriental regions; for when Joshua subdued Canaan, he caused the captains of his army put their feet upon the necks of her captive kings, as a sign of their complete reduction, and his own confidence of future success. It still prevailed in the east in ages comparatively modern; for Sapor, the king of Persia, commanded the Roman emperor Valerian, whom he had taken prisoner by treachery, to attend him in the condition of a base and abject slave, and to bow down and offer him his back, on which he set his foot, in order to mount his chariot or his horse, as often as he chose to appear in public.<sup>c</sup> Conquerors of a milder and more humane disposition put their hand upon the neck of their captives, as a mark of their superiority. This custom may be traced as high as the

<sup>b</sup> Isa. li, 23.

<sup>c</sup> Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 387.

age in which Jacob flourished ; for in his farewell blessing to Judah, he thus alludes to it : “ Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise ; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies.”<sup>d</sup> This benediction, which at once foretold the victorious career of that warlike tribe, and suggested the propriety of treating their prisoners with moderation and kindness, was fulfilled in the person of David, and acknowledged by him : “ Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me.”<sup>e</sup> Traces of this custom may be discovered in the manners of other nations. Among the Franks it was usual to put the arm round the neck, as a mark of superiority on the part of him by whom it was done. When Chrodin, declining the office of mayor of the palace, chose a young nobleman named Gogan, to fill that place, he immediately took the arm of the young man, and put it round his own neck, as a mark of his dependence on him, and that he acknowledged him for his general and chief.

The eastern conqueror often stripped his unhappy captives naked, shaved their heads, and made them travel in that condition, exposed to the burning heat of a vertical sun by day, and the chilling cold of the night.<sup>f</sup> Such barbarous treatment was to modest women, the height of cruelty and indignity, especially to those who had been educated in softness and elegance, who had figured in all the superfluities of ornamental dress, and whose faces had hardly ever been exposed to the sight of man. The prophet Isaiah mentions this as the hardest part of the sufferings in which female captives are involved : “ The Lord will expose their nakedness.” The daughter of Zion had indul-

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xlix, 8.

<sup>e</sup> Psa. xviii, 40.

<sup>f</sup> Isa. vii, 20. Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 135.

ged in all the softness of oriental luxury; but she offended Jehovah should cause her unrelenting enemies to drag her forth from her secret chambers, into the view of an insolent soldiery; strip her of her ornaments, in which she so greatly delighted; take away her splendid and costly garments, discover her nakedness, and compel her to travel in that miserable plight to a far distant country, a hopeless captive, the property of a cruel lord.

Arrived in the land of their captivity, they are often purchased at a very low price. The prophet Joel, in a passage already quoted, complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the people of Israel were held by those who made them captives. The custom of casting lots for the captives taken in war, appears to have prevailed both among the Jews and the Greeks. Joel complains, that they cast lots for his people; and we learn from Nahum, that, when populous No was taken, "They cast lots for her honourable men;"<sup>a</sup> the same allusion occurs in the prophecy of Obadiah: "Strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem."<sup>b</sup> With respect to the Greeks we have an instance in Tryphiodorus:

" Shared out by lot the female captives stand,  
The spoils divided with an equal hand;  
Each to his ship conveys his rightful share,  
Price of their toil, and trophies of the war."<sup>c</sup>

By an inhuman custom, which is still retained in the east, the eyes of captives taken in war are not seldom put out, sometimes literally scooped or dug out of their sockets. This dreadful calamity Samson had to endure, from the unrelenting vengeance of his enemies. In a pos-

<sup>a</sup> Nah. iii. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Obad. verse 11.

<sup>c</sup> Burder's Orient. Costumes, No. 1148.

terior age, Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, and Benjamin, after being compelled to behold the violent death of his sons and nobility, had his eyes put out, and was carried in chains to Babylon. The barbarous custom long survived the decline and fall of the Babylonian empire, for by the testimony of Mr. Maurice, in his history of Hindostan, the captive princes of that country were often treated in this manner, by their more fortunate rivals; a red hot iron was passed over their eyes, which effectually deprived them of sight, and at the same time of their title and ability to reign.<sup>1</sup> To the wretched state of such prisoners, the prophet Isaiah alludes in a noble prediction, where he describes in very glowing colours, the character and work of the promised Messiah: "He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised," as captives too frequently are by the weight of their fetters. He restored the eye-ball to the empty socket, and poured on it the light of day, or purged the sight from the thick film which covered it; imparted at once the faculty of directing it to particular objects, and the degree of vigour necessary to clear and steady vision; and all this with a single word. "He spake, and it was done, he commanded, and it stood fast; for he is God over all, blessed for ever."

The ferocious conqueror sometimes ordered the noses and lips of his vanquished enemies, without distinction of age or sex, to be cut off and preserved, that he might ascertain the number of souls that were added to his subjects. An allusion to this horrid custom, perhaps occurs in that complaint of Job: "I am escaped with the skin of my

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. 1, p. 437, note.

teeth.”<sup>k</sup> The afflicted man had been in the hands of cruel enemies, but he had escaped without such mutilations, as miserable captives were often compelled to suffer.

Adonibezek certainly discovered a very savage disposition in cutting “off the thumbs and great toes” of his captives; “but much severer is the cruelty displayed in this narration of Indian war: - - - The inhabitants of the town of *Lelith Pattan*, were disposed to surrender themselves, from the fear of having their noses cut off like those of *Cirtipur*, and also their *right hands*, a barbarity the *Gorchians* had threatened them with, unless they would surrender within five days !” Another resemblance to the history of the men of Jabesh, who desired seven days of melancholy respite from their threatened affliction by Nahash.<sup>l</sup>

It seems to have been the practice of eastern kings, to command their captives taken in war, especially those that had, by the atrociousness of their crimes, or the stoutness of their resistance, greatly provoked their indignation, to lie down on the ground, and then put to death a certain part of them which they measured with a line, or determined by lot. This custom was not perhaps commonly practised by the people of God, in their wars with the nations around them; one instance, however, is recorded in the life of David, who inflicted this punishment on the Moabites: “And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive; and so the Moabites became David’s servants and brought gifts.”<sup>m</sup>

The same warlike prince inflicted a still more terrible

<sup>k</sup> Job xix, 20.

<sup>l</sup> Taylor’s Calmet, vol. iii.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Sam. viii, 2. Burder’s Orient. Cust. ob. 193.

punishment on the inhabitants of Rabbah, the capital city of Ammon, whose ill-advised king had violated the law of nations, in offering one of the greatest possible indignities to his ambassadors: "He brought out the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick kiln; and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon."<sup>a</sup> Some of them he sawed asunder; others he tore in pieces with harrows armed with great iron teeth; or lacerated their bodies with sharp sickles or sharp stones; or rather, he dragged them through the place where bricks were made, and grated their flesh upon the ragged sherds. This dreadful punishment was meant to operate upon the fears of other princes, and prevent them from violating the right of nations in the persons of their ambassadors. These were usually persons of great worth or eminent station, who, by their quality and deportment, might command respect and attention from their very enemies. Ambassadors were accordingly held sacred among all people, even when at war; and what injuries and affronts soever had been committed, Heaven and earth were thought to be concerned to prosecute the injuries done to them, with the utmost vengeance. So deep is this impression engraved on the human mind, that the Lacedæmonians, who had inhumanly murdered the Persian ambassadors, firmly believed their gods would accept none of their oblations and sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful omens, till two noblemen of Sparta were sent as an expiatory sacrifice to Xerxes, to atone for the death of his ambassadors by their own. That emperor indeed, gave them leave to return in safety, without any other

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. xii, 31.



ignominy than what they suffered by a severe reflection on the Spartan nation, whose barbarous cruelty he professed he would not imitate, though he had been so greatly provoked. The Divine vengeance, however, suffered them not to go unpunished, but inflicted what those men had assumed to themselves, on their sons, who being sent on an embassy into Asia, were betrayed into the hands of the Athenians, who put them to death : which Herodotus, who relates the story, considered as a just revenge from heaven, for the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians. The character of ambassadors has been invested with such inviolable sanctity, by the mutual hopes and fears of nations ; for, if persons of that character might be treated injuriously, the friendly relations between different states could not be maintained ; and all hopes of peace and reconciliation amongst enemies, must be banished for ever out of the world.<sup>o</sup>

But these considerations, although they might justify David in demanding satisfaction, and inflicting condign punishment on the king of Rabbah, cannot be reckoned a sufficient excuse for such severities. They may therefore be considered as a proof, that he was then in the state of his impenitence, in consequence of his illicit connection with Bathsheba, when the mild, and gentle, and humane spirit of the gospel in his bosom, had suffered a mournful decline, and he was become cruel and furious, as well as lustful and incontinent. The captives taken by Amaziah, in his war with Edom, were also treated with uncommon severity, for “ he took ten thousand of them alive, and brought them to the top of a rock, and cast them down, so that they were all broken in pieces.”<sup>p</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 66. Herodotus, lib. vii, cap. 134.

<sup>p</sup> 2 Chron. xxv, 12.

But the most shocking punishment which the ingenious cruelty of a haughty and unfeeling conqueror ever inflicted on the miserable captive, is described by Virgil in the eighth book of the *Æneid* ; and which, even a Roman inured to blood, could not mention without horror :

“ *Quid memorem infandæ cædes ? quid facta tyranni !* ” &c. L. 483.

“ Why should I mention his unutterable barbarities ? Or, why the tyrant’s horrid deeds ? May the gods recompense them on his own head and on his race. Nay, he even bound to the living the bodies of the dead, joining together hands to hands, and face to face, a horrid kind of torture : and then, pining away with gore and putrefaction in this loathed embrace, he thus destroyed with lingering death.”

It is to this most deplorable condition that the apostle refers, in that pathetic exclamation : “ O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? ”<sup>a</sup> Who shall rescue me, miserable captive as I am, from this continual burden of sin which I carry about with me ; and which is cumbersome and odious, as a dead carcase bound to a living body, to be dragged along with it wherever it goes ?

The vanquished foe, in testimony of his submission, hung his sword from his neck, when he came into the presence of his conqueror. When Bagdat was taken by the Turks, in the year 1688, the governor’s lieutenant and principal officer was sent to the grand vizier, with a scarf about his neck, and his sword wreathed in it, which is accounted by them a mark of deep humiliation and perfect submission, to beg for mercy in his own and his master’s name. His request being granted, the governor came and was introduced to the grand signior, and obtained,

<sup>a</sup> Rom. vii, 24.

not only a confirmation of the promise of life that had been made him, but also various presents of considerable value.\* These circumstances forcibly recal to our minds the message of Benhadad, after his signal defeat to the king of Israel; the passage runs in these terms: And his servants said unto him, "Behold, now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings; let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel, peradventure he will save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee, let me live. And he said, Is he yet alive? He is my brother."<sup>†</sup>

The servants of Benhadad succeeded in obtaining a verbal assurance that his life should be spared; but a surer pledge of protection was to deliver a banner into the hand of the suppliant. In the year 1099, when Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earnestly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by any promise of safety to come down, till they had received the banner of Tancred, one of the chiefs of the Croisaders, as a pledge of life. This they reckoned a more powerful protection than the most solemn promise; although in this instance their confidence was entirely misplaced; for the faithless zealots who pretended to fight for the cross, put every man of them to the sword.

The Psalmist perhaps considered the banner which God had given his people to be displayed because of the truth, in the same light. He celebrates in the sixtieth Psalm,

\* Thevenot's Trav. part i, p. 289.

† 1 Kings xx, 34.

a victory which he gained over the Syrians and Edomites, by which the affairs of his people were retrieved, in these words: "Thou hast shewed thy people hard things . . . thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee." According to this view, the sense is, Though for a time thou didst resign thy chosen Israel into the hands of their enemies, thou hast now given them a sure pledge of thy almighty protection. The word which we translate banner, Mr. Harmer thinks may perhaps be more properly rendered ensign or standard. The standard of an oriental prince was often a spear overlaid with silver, with sometimes a ball of gold on the top, although it is undeniable that banners were occasionally used in the eastern armies. If the Psalmist means an ensign or standard, then the word which we render displayed, must be translated *lifted up*; and the clause will run, "Thou hast given thy people an ensign or standard, to be lifted up because of the truth; that is, to be according to thy faithful promise, a sure pledge of the divine protection."<sup>1</sup>

When the king of Syria had obtained security for his life, and assurance of being restored in peace to his throne, he promised in return for such great and unexpected favours, to restore the cities which his father had taken from Israel, and to permit Ahab to make streets in Damascus for himself, as his father had made in Samaria. This extraordinary privilege of making streets in Damascus, has exceedingly puzzled commentators. Some of them suppose the word *houtsoth* signifies market-places, where commodities were sold, the duties on which should belong to Ahab; others imagine, he meant courts of justice, where the king of Israel should have the prerogative of sitting in

<sup>1</sup> Harmer's Observ. vol. i, p. 496.

judgment, and exercising a jurisdiction over the Syrians; others think they were a sort of piazzas, of which he should receive the rents; one class of interpreters understand by the word fortifications or citadels; another class attempt to prove, that palaces are meant, which Ahab should be permitted to build as a proof of his superiority.

The privileges, which we know from the faithful page of history were actually granted to the Venetians for their aid, by the states of the kingdom of Jerusalem, during the captivity of Baldwin II. may perhaps explain in a more satisfactory manner these words of Benhadad. The instrument by which these privileges were secured, is preserved in the history of William bishop of Tyre, the historian of the croisades, from which it appears, they were accustomed to assign churches, and to give streets in their towns and cities, with very ample prerogatives in these streets, to the foreign nations who lent them the most effectual assistance. The Venetians had a street in Acre, with full jurisdiction in it; and in what this consisted, we learn from the deed of settlement just mentioned; they had a right to have in their street an oven, a mill, a bath, weights, and measures for wine, oil and honey; they had also a right to judge causes among themselves, together with as great a jurisdiction over all those who dwelt in their street, of what nation soever they might be, as the kings of Jerusalem had over others. The same historian informs us, that the Genoese also had a street, in that city, with full jurisdiction in it, and a church as a reward for their services, together with a third part of the dues of the port. In the treaty of peace granted by Bajazet emperor of the Turks, to Emanuel the Greek emperor, it was stipulated, that the latter should grant free liberty to the Turks to

dwell together, in one street of Constantinople, with the free exercise of their own religion and laws, under a judge of their own nation. This humiliating condition the Greek emperor was obliged to accept; and a great number of Turks, with their families, were sent out of Bythinia to dwell in Constantinople, where a mosque was built for their accommodation. It is not improbable, that the same kind of privileges that were granted to the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Turks, had been granted to the father of Benhadad, by the king of Israel, and were now offered to Ahab in Damascus, in the distressed state of his affairs. The Syrian monarch promised to give his conqueror a number of streets in his capital city, for the use of his subjects, with peculiar rights and privileges, which enabled him to exercise the same jurisdiction there as in his own dominions."

But besides the captives taken in battle, the booty of the conquerors consisted of all the moveable property which belonged to the vanquished, whose right and title, by the law of arms, passed to the former. Homer's heroes no sooner gain a victory, than without delay they seize the armour of the vanquished foe; instances of this kind are as numerous as their combats. But this was rather the privilege of the principal commanders, than of the inferior soldiers, who were not permitted to gather the spoils of the dead till after the battle. "My friends," cried the prudent Nestor, "Grecian heroes, children of Mars, let no soldier at present, greedy of spoil, linger behind to carry his collected wealth to the ships; but let us put our enemies to the sword, and afterwards at your leisure you shall strip the dead over all the field."<sup>v</sup>

<sup>v</sup> Harmer's *Observ.* vol. iii, p. 489-492.

<sup>v</sup> *Iliad.* lib. vi, l. 70. *Potter's Gr. Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 106.

These laws of war the primitive Greeks probably borrowed from the orientals, for in the civil war between the houses of Saul and David, when the troops of the former had suffered a complete defeat, Abner, the general of the Benjamites, advised Asahel, an officer of high rank in the victorious army, who had singled him out for his prey, to give up the pursuit, and content himself with the spoils of a meaner foe: "Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay thee hold on one of the young men, and take thee his armour;"\* engage him in single combat, and having killed your victim, strip him on the spot, as you are entitled to do, by your rank and achievements. But the victorious army did not return to rifle the slain till the day after the battle: "And it came to pass, on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three sons fallen on mount Gilboa."†

In Greece, "the whole booty was brought to the general, who had the first choice, divided the remainder among those who had signalised themselves, according to their rank and merits, and allotted to the rest equal portions; thus in the Trojan war, when the captive ladies were to be chosen, Agamemnon in the first place, took Astynome, the daughter of Chryses; next Achilles had Hippodamia, daughter to Brises; then Ajax chose Tecmessa, and so of the rest; Achilles therefore complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty, while himself, who sustained the burden of the war, was content with a small pittance."‡ From the time of David, the Hebrew warriors, as well those who went to the field, as those who guarded the baggage, shared alike; the law is

\* 2 Sam. ii, 21.

† 1 Sam. xxxi, 8.

‡ Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 107.

couched in these terms : “ As his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff.” But a more satisfactory account of the mode in which the spoils of vanquished nations were divided among the Hebrews, is recorded in the book of Numbers. The whole booty taken from the Midianites, was brought before Moses, and Eliezer the priest, and the princes of the tribes; they, by the divine command, divided it into two parts, between the army and the congregation; of the army’s half they took “ one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep, and gave it unto Eliezer the priest, for an heave-offering of the Lord ;” and of the congregation’s half they took “ one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and gave them unto the Levites.”\* This law probably continued in force till the captivity; and according to its provisions, were the spoils of succeeding wars distributed; for the regulation which David established, referred only to this question, whether the soldiers, who from weakness were obliged to remain with the baggage, should have an equal share of the booty, with their brethren in arms who had been engaged.

Before the spoils were distributed, the Greeks considered themselves obliged to dedicate a part of them to the gods, to whose assistance they reckoned themselves indebted for them all.<sup>a</sup> This custom also, they borrowed from the orientals; for the Hebrews, in dividing the spoils of Midian, separated a portion for the service of the tabernacle; and the practice, so reasonable in itself, being imitated by the surrounding nations, at last found its way into Greece and other countries of Europe.

\* Numb. xxxi, 26.

<sup>a</sup> Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 108.



But besides the public offerings of the nation, the soldiers often of their own accord, consecrated a part of their spoils to the God of battles : they had several methods of doing this ; at one time they collected them into an heap, and consumed them with fire ; at another, they suspended their offerings in the temples. Pausanias, the Spartan, is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian spoils, a tripod to Delphian Apollo, and a statue of brass seven cubits long, to Olympian Jupiter. The origin of these customs is easily discernible in the manners of the Hebrews. After the rich and various spoils of Midian were divided, the officers of the army, penetrated with gratitude that they had not lost a man in the contest, “ presented an oblation to the Lord, jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets, to make atonement,” as they piously expressed it, “ for their souls before the Lord.”<sup>b</sup> But the city of Jericho and all its inhabitants, except Rahab and her family, were devoted to utter destruction, as an offering to the justice and holiness of God, whom they had incensed by their crimes ; “ And the city,” said Joshua, “ shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord ; only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent. . . . But all the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are consecrated unto the Lord ; they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. . . . And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein ; only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord.”<sup>c</sup>

When the demands of religion were satisfied, the Grecian soldiers commonly reserved articles of extraordinary

<sup>b</sup> Numb. xxxi, 49, 50.

<sup>c</sup> Josh. vi, 17, 18, 19, 24.

value which they had obtained, as a present to their general or the commander of their party.<sup>d</sup> To this mark of respect, Deborah perhaps alludes in the words which she puts into the mouth of Sisera's mother and her attendants: "Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera, a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle work, of divers colours of needle work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."<sup>e</sup> "It has been," says Malcom, "the invariable usage of all Asiatic conquerors, from the monarch who subdues kingdoms, to the chief that seizes a village, to claim some fair females as the reward of his conquest."<sup>f</sup>

To the jewels of silver and gold, which the Hebrew soldier was accustomed to bring as a free-will offering into the treasury of his God, must be added the armour of some illustrious foe, which, in gratitude for his preservation, he suspended in the sanctuary. The sword of Goliath was wrapped up in a cloth, and deposited behind the ephod; and in a succeeding war, the Philistines proving victorious, took their revenge by depositing the armour of Saul in the temple of Ashtarothe. The custom of dedicating to the gods the spoils of a conquered enemy, and placing them in their temples as trophies of victory and testimonies of gratitude, is very ancient, and universally received in Asia and Greece.<sup>g</sup> Hector promises to dedicate his enemy's armour in the temple of Apollo, if he would grant him the victory:

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἴγῳ τοι εἰσω δαη δὲ μοι ἔγχος Ἀπώλλων, &c. *Il* lib. vii, l. 80.

<sup>d</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 108.

<sup>e</sup> Judg. v, 30.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. of Persia, vol. i, p. 79, note; and p. 631, note.

<sup>g</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 109.

"But if I shall prove victorious, and Apollo vouchsafe me the glory to strip off his armour, and carry it to sacred Troy, then will I suspend it in the temple of the far darting Apollo."

Virgil alludes to this custom in his description of the temple, where Latinus gave audience to the ambassadors of Æneas :

"*Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,*" &c.

*Æn. lib. vii, l. 123.*

"Besides, on the sacred door posts, many arms, captive chariots, and crooked scymitars are suspended, helmets, crested plumes, and massy bars of gates, and darts, and shields, and beaks torn from ships."

Nor was it the custom only to dedicate to heaven the weapons taken from an enemy, when the soldier retired from the tumults of war to the bosom of his family ; he frequently hung up his own arms in the temple, as a grateful acknowledgment of the protection he had received, and the victories he had won. Horace thus alludes to the practice :

—— " *Vejanus, armis,*

*Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.*"<sup>b</sup>

And Ovid refers to the same custom in these lines :

" *Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,*

*Penit ad antiquos, quæ talit, armâ Laræ.*"

"The battered soldier worn out with age and the toils of war, devotes the arms which he formerly bore, to his ancient household gods."<sup>c</sup>

In this custom, the Greeks and Romans imitated the Asiatic nations, and particularly the Hebrews ; for when David resigned the command of his armies to his generals,

<sup>b</sup> Lib. i, Epist. i, l. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Trist. lib. iv.

he laid up his arms in the tabernacle, where they continued for several ages ; and there is reason to believe his conduct in this respect, was followed by many of his companions in arms. When Joash, one of his descendants, was crowned, Jehoiada the high priest, under whose care he had been educated, delivered to the captains of hundreds, spears, and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David's, which were in the house of God."<sup>j</sup>

The Greeks and other unenlightened nations of antiquity, as a further expression of their gratitude to the gods whom they worshipped, were accustomed to offer solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them for their protection and support.<sup>k</sup> The Hebrews, in like manner, under the direction of inspired prophets, celebrated their victories by triumphal processions, the women and children dancing, and playing upon musical instruments, and singing hymns and songs of triumph, to the living and true God. The song of Moses at the Red sea, which was sung by Miriam and the women of Israel, to the dulcet notes of the timbrel, is a most beautiful example of the triumphal hymns of the ancient Hebrews.<sup>l</sup> The song of Deborah and Barak, after the decisive battle in which Sisera lost his life, and Jabin his dominion over

<sup>j</sup> 2 Chron. xxiii, 9.

<sup>k</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 111.

<sup>l</sup> This custom is still kept up in India ; and, as in the remote age of Miriam, the most distinguished female " leads the dance, and is followed by a troop of young girls who imitate her steps, and if she sing make up the chorus. The tune and figure seem to be unstudied, and the songs which accompany them are all extemporaneous effusions. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied, according to the pleasure of her who leads the dance, but always in exact time ; and far more agreeable than any of our dances." Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii, p. 295.—In Turkey the same custom is retained, in all its parts. Lady M. W. Montagu's Lett. vol. i, p. 107.

the tribes of Israel, is a production of the same sort, in which the spirit of genuine heroism and of true religion are admirably combined. But the song which the women of Israel chaunted when they went out to meet Saul and his victorious army, after the death of Goliath, and the discomfiture of the Philistines, possesses somewhat of a different character, turning chiefly on the valorous exploits of Saul and the youthful champion of Israel: "And it came to pass, as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing to meet king Saul with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music: And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands."<sup>m</sup> But the most remarkable festivity perhaps on the records of history, was celebrated by Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, in a succeeding age. When that religious prince led forth his army to battle against a powerful confederacy of his neighbours, he appointed a band of sacred music to march in front, praising the beauty of holiness as they went before the army, "and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever." After the discomfiture of their enemies, he assembled his army in the valley of Beracha, near the scene of victory, where they resumed the anthem of religious praise: "Then they returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the fore front of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the Lord had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries, and harps, and trumpets, unto the house of the Lord."<sup>n</sup> Instead of celebrating his own he-

<sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. xviii, 6.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Chron. xx, 21.

roism, or the valour of his troops, on this memorable occasion, that excellent prince sung with his whole army the praises of the Lord of hosts, who disposes of the victory according to his pleasure. This conduct was becoming the descendant and successor of David, the man according to God's own heart, and a religious people, the peculiar inheritance of Jehovah.

On some occasions the victor cut off the head of his enemy, and carried it in triumph on the point of a spear, and presented it, if a person of inferior rank, to his prince or the commander-in-chief. Barbarossa, the dey of Algiers, returned in triumph from the conquest of the kingdom of Cucco, with the head of the king, who had lost his life in the contest, carried before him on a lance. Mr. Harmer thinks it probable that the Philistines cut off the head of Saul, whom they found among the slain, on Gilboa, to carry it in triumph on the point of a spear to their principal city, according to the custom of those times; and that David, in a preceding war, severed the head of Goliath from his body, for the purpose of presenting it to Saul, in the same manner, on the point of a lance. The words of the inspired historian do not determine the mode in which it was presented; we must therefore endeavour to form our opinion from the general custom of the east. The words of the record are: "And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand." It is scarcely to be supposed that the youthful warrior was introduced with the sword in the one hand, and the head of his enemy in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor; it is more reasonable to imagine, says Mr. Harmer, that he appeared

in a more graceful and warlike attitude, bearing on the point of a lance the head of his adversary.<sup>o</sup> But it must be confessed that the other idea, after all that respectable writer has said, is more naturally suggested by the words of the inspired historian.

It is a common practice in Turkey to cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, and lay them in heaps before the residence of their emperor, or his principal officers. In Persia Mr. Hanway saw a pyramid of human heads at the entrance of Astrabad. They were the heads of Persians who had rebelled against their sovereign.<sup>p</sup> This barbarous custom may be traced up to a very remote antiquity; and it was probably not seldom reduced to practice in the various governments of Asia.<sup>q</sup> When Jehu conspired against Ahab, he commanded the heads of his master's children, seventy in number, to be cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel, and "laid in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning." The renowned Xenophon says, in his *Anabasis*, that the same custom was practised by the Chalybes; and Herodotus makes the same remark in relation to the Scythians.<sup>r</sup>

The Roman conquerors used to carry branches of palm in their hands, when they went in triumph to the capitol; and sometimes wore the *toga palmata*, a garment with the figures of palm trees upon it, which were interwoven in the fabric. In the same triumphant attitude, the apostle John beheld in vision those who had overcome by the blood of the Lamb, standing "before the throne, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands."<sup>s</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. iii, p. 498, 499.

<sup>p</sup> Part iii, ch. 43, vol. i, p. 201.

<sup>q</sup> Harmer's Obs. vol. iii, p. 500. Morier's Trav. vol. i, p. 180.

<sup>r</sup> Lib. ii, cap. 64.

<sup>s</sup> Rev. vii, 9.

When the Romans had, in their way of speaking, given peace to a nation, by extirpating the greatest part of the miserable inhabitants, they collected the arms of the vanquished, and setting them on fire, reduced them to ashes. A medal struck by Vespasian the Roman emperor, on finishing his wars in Italy, and other parts of the world, represents the goddess of peace holding an olive branch in one hand, and with a lighted torch in the other, setting fire to a heap of armour. The custom is thus alluded to by Virgil :

“ O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos !

Qualis eram cum primam aciem Præneste sub ipsa,

Stravi, scutorumque incendi victor acervos.” *Æn.* lib. viii, l. 560.

“ O that Jupiter would restore to me the years that are past ! Such as I was, when under Præneste itself, I routed the foremost rank of the enemy, and victorious set fire to heaps of armour.”

The same practice, by the command of Jehovah, prevailed among the Jews ; the first instance of it occurs in the book of Joshua : “ And the Lord said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them ; for to-morrow about this time, will I deliver them up all slain before Israel ; thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire.”<sup>1</sup> It is also celebrated in the songs of Zion, as the attendant of peace, and the proof of its continuance : “ He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth ; he breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder ; he burneth the chariot in the fire.”<sup>2</sup> In the description which Ezekiel gives of the divine judgments upon Gog, we find this passage : “ They that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth and shall set on fire, and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the hand-

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xi, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xlv, 9.



staves, and the spears, and they shall burn them with fire seven years."

The sword, and the head of the spear, which, being of iron or brass, the action of fire could not reduce to ashes, they converted into the implements of industry; for the prediction of Isaiah certainly referred to a very general custom; "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." This beautiful image of well-established peace has not escaped the taste and judgment of uninspired bards, if they were not indebted for it, either directly, or by means of others, to the sacred volume:

—— "falx ex ense

*Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus.*

*Agricolæ nunc sim; militis ante fui."*

*Martial, xiv, 34.*

"A scythe forged from the sword of a general, profound peace has bent me into placid uses; now I belong to a husbandman, formerly I was the property of a soldier."

The highest military honour which could be obtained in the Roman state, was a triumph, or solemn procession, in which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city, to the capitol. He set out from the Campus Martius, and proceeded along the Via Triumphalis, and from thence through the most public places of the city. The streets were strewed with flowers, and the altars smoked with incense. First went a numerous band of music, singing and playing triumphal songs; next were led the oxen to be sacrificed, having their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with fillets and garlands; then in carriages were brought the spoils taken from the enemy; also golden crowns sent by the allied and tributary states.

† Isa. ii, 4.

The titles of the vanquished nations were inscribed on wooden frames ; and images or representations of the conquered countries and cities were exhibited. The captive leaders followed in chains, with their children and attendants ; after the captives came the lictors, having their fasces wreathed with laurel, followed by a great company of musicians and dancers, dressed like satyrs, and wearing crowns of gold : in the midst of whom was a pantomime, clothed in a female garb, whose business it was, with his looks and gestures, to insult the vanquished ; a long train of persons followed, carrying perfumes ; after them came the general dressed in purple, embroidered with gold, with a crown of laurel on his head, a branch of laurel in his right hand, and in his left an ivory sceptre, with an eagle on the top, his face painted with vermilion, and a golden ball hanging from his neck on his breast ; he stood upright in a gilded chariot, adorned with ivory, and drawn by four white horses, attended by his relations, and a great crowd of citizens, all in white. His children rode in the chariot along with him, his lieutenants and military tribunes, commonly by his side. After the general, followed the consuls and senators on foot ; the whole procession was closed by the victorious army drawn up in order, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the gifts which they had received for their valour, singing their own and their general's praises.<sup>w</sup> The triumphal procession was not confined to the Romans ; the Greeks had a similar custom, for the conquerors used to make a procession through the middle of their city, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, and brandishing their spears ; the captives followed in chains, and all their spoils were exposed to public view.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>w</sup> Adams' Rom. Antiq. p. 389.

<sup>x</sup> Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 111.

The great apostle of the Gentiles alludes to these splendid triumphal scenes, in his epistle to the Ephesians, where he mentions the glorious ascension of his Redeemer into heaven: "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men."<sup>y</sup> These words are a quotation from the sixty-eighth Psalm, where David in spirit, describes the ascension of Messiah, in very glowing colours: "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels; the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive," or an immense number of captives; "thou hast received gifts for men, yea for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them. Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with his benefits, even the God of our salvation; Selah."<sup>z</sup> Knowing the deep impression which such an allusion is calculated to make on the mind of a people familiarly acquainted with triumphal scenes, the apostle returns to it in his epistle to the Colossians, which was written about the same time: "Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it."<sup>a</sup> After obtaining a complete victory over all his enemies, he ascended in splendour and triumph into his Father's presence on the clouds of heaven, the chariots of the Most High, thousands of holy angels attending in his train; he led the devil and all his angels, together with sin, the world, and death, as his spoils of war, and captives in chains, and exposed them to open contempt and shame, in the view of all his angelic attendants, triumphing like a glorious conqueror over them, in virtue of his cross, upon which he made complete satisfaction for sin, and by his own strength, without the assistance of any creature,

<sup>y</sup> Eph. iv, 8.<sup>z</sup> Psa. lxxviii, 17, 18.<sup>a</sup> Col. ii, 15.

destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. And as mighty princes are accustomed to scatter largesses among the people, and reward their companions in arms with a liberal hand, when, laden with the spoils of vanquished nations, they returned in triumph to their capital ; so the conqueror of death and hell, when he ascended far above all heavens, and sat down in the midst of the throne, shed forth in vast abundance the choicest blessings of the Spirit, upon people of every tongue and of every nation.

The officers and soldiers also, were rewarded according to their merit.<sup>b</sup> Among the Romans, the noblest reward which a soldier could receive, was the civic crown, given to him who had saved the life of a citizen, made of oak leaves, and by order of the general, presented by the person who had been saved to his preserver, whom he ever after respected as a parent. Alluding to this high distinction, the apostle says to his son Timothy ; “ I have fought a good fight - - henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day ; and not to me only but unto all them also that love his appearing.”<sup>c</sup> And lest any one should imagine, that the Christian’s crown is perishable in its nature, and soon fades away, like a crown of oak leaves, the apostle Peter assures the faithful soldier of Christ, that his crown is infinitely more valuable and lasting : “ Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.”<sup>d</sup> And this account is confirmed by James : “ Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that fear him.”<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii, p. 116.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Tim. iv, 7, 8.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Pet. v, 4.

<sup>e</sup> James i, 12.

The military crowns were conferred by the general in presence of the army ; and such as received them, after a public eulogium on their valour, were placed next his person. The Christian also receives his unmerited reward from the hand of the Captain of his salvation : “ Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”<sup>f</sup> And like the brave veteran of ancient times, he is promoted to a place near his Lord : “ To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne.”<sup>g</sup> The saints must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, who will produce the proofs of their fidelity before assembled worlds, to justify the sentence he is about to pronounce. Holy angels will applaud the justice of the proceeding, and condemned spirits, and reprobate men will have nothing to object ; then, while he pronounces a sentence which at once eulogizes their conduct, and announces their honourable acquittal, “ Well done done good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord ;” he will set upon their heads a crown of purest gold, put a palm of victory into their right hand, clothe them in robes of celestial brightness, and place them around his throne : “ And so shall they be for ever with the Lord.”<sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Rev. ii, 10.<sup>g</sup> Ch. iii, 21.<sup>h</sup> 1 Thes, iv, 17.

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#### ERRATUM.

Page 308, line 2, for *It*, read *The cross*.

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